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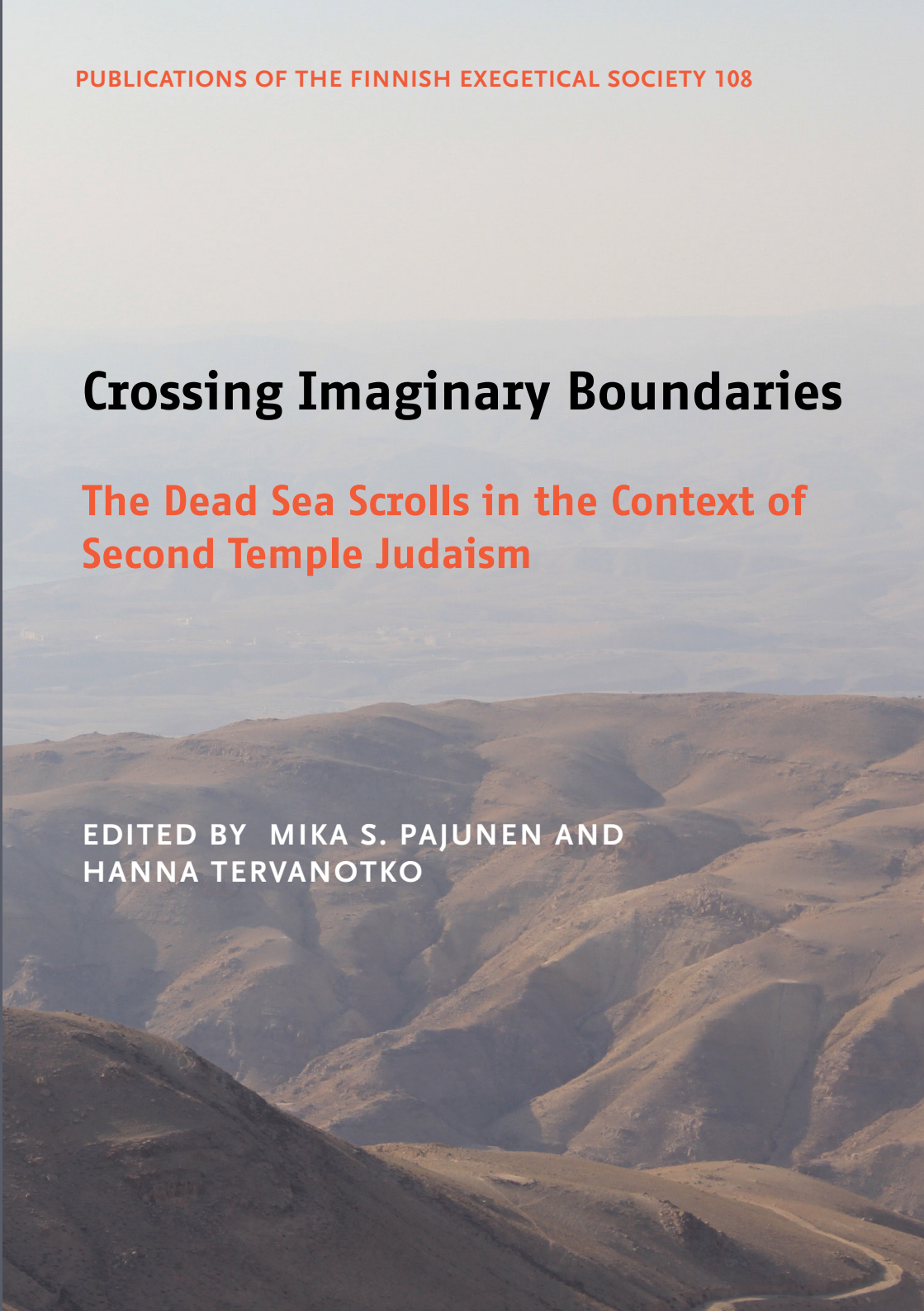
Crossing Imaginary Boundaries

The Dead Sea Scrolls in the Context of Second Temple Judaism



EDITED BY MIKA S. PAJUNEN AND
HANNA TERVANOTKO

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Contents

Preface

Between 2008 and 2011 Professor (emerita) Raija Sollamo directed a research project, *Conflicting Identities: Social and Religious Identities in Light of the Qumran Material from the Judaean Desert*, funded by the Academy of Finland. Three doctoral students, the present editors and Hanna Vanonen, and two post-doctoral researchers, Juhana Saukkonen and Hanne von Weissenberg worked within the framework of the project and another post-doctoral researcher, Jutta Jokiranta was affiliated with it. In the final meeting of the project, the members of the group evaluated the past decades of Qumran research in Finland. They acknowledged that since the 1950s when the first Finnish scholars had gotten involved in the study of the Dead Sea Scrolls, the group of people interested in this field had grown considerably and the Finnish researchers had left their own distinct mark in this area of research.[1]

During the first fifty years, the field of Qumran studies in Helsinki was particularly influenced by two factors. First, with the opening of the Scrolls archives and reorganization of the international publication project in the early 1990s, a new era of Qumran research began that renewed the interest in the Scrolls in Finland as well. Second, looking at Finland, the study of the Dead Sea Scrolls also speeded up for another reason. Raija Sollamo incorporated the Scrolls into the regular teaching program of Biblical Studies.[2] These lectures attracted many students and the most talented and motivated of Sollamo's students continued their studies to the doctoral level.

Since then, altogether six Scrolls-related doctoral dissertations have been defended under the supervision of Sollamo. The first student to complete her doctoral studies in this field in Helsinki was Sarianna

[1] For the history of Finnish Qumran research, see Sarianna Metso, "Qumran Research in Nordic Countries," *Dead Sea Scrolls in Scholarly Perspective* (ed. D. Dimant; *STDJ* 99; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 611–19 and Raija Sollamo, "Study of the Qumran Texts in Finland," in *Teologinen Aikakauskirja* 118 (2013): 270–78 [in Finnish].

[2] Sollamo has described this development in the "Study of the Qumran Texts in Finland."

Metso who defended her dissertation in 1996. The second wave, Juhana Saukkonen, Jutta Jokiranta, and Hanne von Weissenberg followed in 2005–2006, and the third, Mika Pajunen, and Hanna Tervanotko, in 2012–2013. We can already talk about continuity in this area of research because Hanne von Weissenberg co-supervised the dissertation of Elisa Uusimäki, who defended it in 2013. Currently more DSS related dissertations are well under way.

The Finnish contributions to this area of research vary in their methodological approaches, general topics, and selected scopes. Thus, it is difficult to name one specific area of expertise that would be characteristic of "the Helsinki school." However, given Sollamo's own articulated interest in textual criticism as well as Greek and Hebrew philology, it is typical that the students preparing either their Master's theses or dissertations begin their work with a thorough study of the primary sources. Thus, we can at least say that the Finnish studies are characterized most of all by careful study of the texts themselves.

It should be stressed that the interest in the Scrolls in Helsinki is not limited to the dissertations directly focusing on Qumran. Scholars who are primarily known in other areas of research in the study of ancient Jewish texts, have occasionally joined the Helsinki Qumran group and subsequently have incorporated the Scrolls as a part of their own scholarly curriculum. Especially the Finnish translations of the DSS have facilitated cooperation between scholars representing different areas of research. Significantly, Raija Sollamo invited others besides Scrolls scholars to contribute to these translations.[3] Moreover, the translation work has led to over twenty Master's theses on the Scrolls in the last twenty years.

Evaluating the past and the present state of Qumran research in Finland made the members of the research project *Conflicting Identities* conclude that the moment had arrived to invite all the different people

[3] Raija Sollamo (ed.), *Kuolleen meren kirjakääröt: Qumranin tekstit suomeksi* (Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1991) and *Qumranin kirjasto: Valikoima teoksia* (Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1997). A third Finnish volume with even more translations under the editorship of Raija Sollamo and Mika S. Pajunen is in press.

involved in Finnish Qumran research to join forces in a collection of articles. The purpose of the volume is thus first to pay tribute to the Helsinki school of Qumran studies, which is presently one of the largest in the world. Second, by our selected perspective on the DSS studies, our wish is to be another voice in the growing chorus that aims at integrating DSS studies into the broader context of the Second Temple Judaism.

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The title of this volume, *Crossing Imaginary Boundaries: The Dead Sea Scrolls in the Context of Second Temple Judaism*, challenges the reader to think about how we are influenced by certain categories used in the study of ancient Jewish texts. While our minds clearly need some categories in order to organize and process the data, we should carefully assess when these categories are helpful and when, in contrast, they block us from advancing our knowledge.

The importance of the DSS for the study of the Bible and especially for textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible has been known and recognized from the very beginning of their scholarly study. Despite this general consensus about the importance of the Scrolls, Qumran research has frequently been seen as a limited esoteric area closed off from other areas of Biblical studies that has its own specialists. This kind of viewpoint is revealed, for instance, by the use of the term intertestamental, which is still frequently employed. This term carries with it a notion of something less worthy, something in the margins between the proper literature.

While many recent studies correctly emphasize that there was no fixed authoritative collection of books during the Second Temple period, that is, no Hebrew Bible, the literature of the late Second Temple era continues to be discussed in light of "Canons" of Scripture. Vis-à-vis already existing Canons, the DSS and broader ancient Jewish literature are referred to as "other texts," "texts only expressing the views of a marginal sectarian group" or "literature between the Old and New Testaments," i.e., as texts that were somehow inherently different from

those ancient Jewish texts that were already regarded as more important. These kinds of narrow points of view tend to place Qumran studies as a kind of a menial servant of the New Testament, Rabbinics, or more frequently the Hebrew Bible.

This collection is an attempt to question and bridge some of these imaginary boundaries between scholarly disciplines, and to demonstrate how important it is to cross these boundaries in order to get a fuller understanding of the texts and their underlying social phenomena. The different attempts to cross some of the previous boundaries are grouped under four different headings.

First, under **Questioning Concepts, Categories, and Methods**, Jutta Jokiranta and Hanna Vanonen, "Multiple Copies of Rule Texts or Multiple Rule Texts? Boundaries of the S and M Documents," in the spirit of new material philology inquire whether our current methods of investigating the texts are accurate. Their investigation aims at updating the terminology used in scholarship. Further, they alert scholars to be more aware of the difficulties in the use of specific concepts and the dangers in broad categorization. Sarianna Metso, "Challenging the Dichotomy between Halakhah and Community Legislation," equally calls for further attention to terminology. Metso questions whether the commonly used terminology "halakhah" and "community legislation" is helpful when analyzing the legal materials of the *Damascus Document* and the *Community Rule*. Moreover, Metso asks whether the laws of the Torah can be said to be more authoritative than the community legislation and suggests that they were placed on the same level of authority. Finally, Hanne von Weissenberg and Christian Seppänen, "Constructing the Boundary between Two Worlds: The Concept of Sacred in the Qumran Texts" investigate the concept of holiness in the Qumran manuscripts by analyzing the use of the Hebrew root קדש, *qdš*, and its derivatives. They conclude that the category of sacred in the texts from Qumran is strongly related to God and the divine, and to institutions established by God—covenant and temple in particular—and thus the concept of sacred is interlocked with the divine sphere.

Second, in **Applying Traditional Methods to Fresh Texts**, Juha Pakkala, "The *Temple Scroll* as Evidence for Editorial Processes of the Pentateuch," asks how the texts found among the DSS can shed new

light on the editorial processes of the Hebrew Bible, most notably on the Pentateuch. He finds that the *Temple Scroll* provides significant documented evidence of the different ways in which new laws were formed. In his close reading of a ritual of exorcism in 11QApocryphal Psalms, Mika S. Pajunen, "How to Expel a Demon? Form- and Tradition-Critical Assessment of the Ritual of Exorcism in 11QApocryphal Psalms," demonstrates the benefits of taking into account all the available evidence, not just that closest to one's own scholarly discipline, as well as the value of traditional form-critical methods still frequently overlooked by Scrolls scholars.

Third, the studies in **Exploring the Transmission of the Divine Will** investigate from different perspectives how different texts of the DSS witness the phenomenon of prophecy after the alleged ceasing of prophecy in the late Second Temple period. Martti Nissinen, "Oracles at Qumran? Traces of Inspired Speakers in the Dead Sea Scrolls" asks whether the DSS preserve traces of individuals who possibly practiced prophecy during the late Second Temple era. He suggests that while no passage goes directly back to an oral performance of prophecy, there was clearly an ongoing need for prophetic practices and divination. Katri Antin, "Sages in the Divine Council: Transmitting Divine Knowledge in Sirach 24, *1 Enoch* 14–16, Daniel 7, and in Two *Hodayot* Psalms (1QH^{a} 12:6–13:6; 20:7–22:42)," argues that a number of texts from the current Hebrew Bible, Pseudepigrapha, and DSS that attest to the concept of a divine council actually reflect continuity of ancient Near Eastern prophetic traditions and attest to remarkably similar notions of how divine revelation is transmitted. Hanna Tervanotko, "Visions, Otherworldly Journeys and Divine Beings: Figures of Levi and Amram as Communicators of Godly Will in the Dead Sea Scrolls," analyzes to what extent some late Second Temple era texts that rewrite Pentateuchal traditions describe their protagonists as prophetic figures and helps clarify some aspects of the transition from oral to literary prophecy.

Finally, in **Tracing the Early Reception of Traditions,** Jessi Orpana, "Awareness of Nudity in *Jubilees* 3: Adam Portrayed as a Priest in the Garden," discusses how the nudity of Adam and Eve is depicted in the creation traditions of Genesis and *Jubilees.* She demonstrates that

the *Jubilees* narrative emphasizes Adam's role as a priest in the Garden, thus adding to the figure a new characteristic that is not present in its source texts now in the Hebrew Bible. Elisa Uusimäki, "The Proverbs Tradition in the Dead Sea Scrolls," investigates 4Q525 and 4Q184 as representatives of the growth and continuity of the wisdom traditions preserved in the book of Proverbs. She argues that the influence and growth of the Proverbs tradition should be understood more broadly than simply by counting the textual representatives of the actual book.

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While finalizing this book, the future of Finnish Qumran research looks bright. Most of the scholars continue their research under the umbrella of the Centre of Excellence "Changes in Sacred Texts and Traditions" funded by the Academy of Finland 2014–2019 where they are spread out over all the different research groups (viz., Society and Religion in the Ancient Near East, Text and Authority, Literary Criticism in Light of Documented Evidence, and Society and Religion in Late Second Temple Judaism) rather than forming a group of their own, thus crossing boundaries in practice. Furthermore, in the next couple of years several more dissertations dealing with Dead Sea Scrolls will be completed. All these factors—secured financial support, continuity of previous research, entry of new scholars into the field, and interdisciplinary advances—will nourish the research in this area of research.

We would like to thank the Academy of Finland, the Emil Aaltonen Foundation and the Ella and Georg Ehrnrooth Foundation for funding, colleagues in Helsinki and in Leuven for their support, and the Finnish Exegetical Society for accepting this volume in their series of publications.

Finally, it is our utmost pleasure to dedicate this book to Raija Sollamo, our *Doktormutter*. It is due to Raija's continued efforts that Qumran research is today so firmly rooted in Finnish Biblical studies. This book is a small token of our gratitude to her. As an individual who smoothly crosses the scholarly boundaries between the Hebrew Bible, the Septuagint, and the DSS, just to name a few of the fields where

Raija has been active, she remains a lasting example for our scholarly work.

January 2015

Mika S. Pajunen & Hanna Tervanotko

Questioning Concepts, Categories, and Methods

JUTTA JOKIRANTA & HANNA VANONEN

Multiple Copies of Rule Texts or Multiple Rule Texts?

Boundaries of the S and M Documents

Introduction

Qumran scholarship is facing an exciting stage. All manuscripts have appeared in publication since the beginning of the century,[1] and new editions of manuscripts and works are in process.[2] The on-going digitization project of the scrolls by the Israel Antiquities Authority is expanding the accessibility of the texts to wider circles of scholars and increasing awareness of the collection, as well as of the material aspects of the scrolls.[3] More and more widely, biblical scholars have begun to appreciate this data for their own disciplines, and, within biblical scholarship, Qumran scholars are seeking new ways of communicating their findings across disciplinary boundaries.[4] For Hebrew Bible scholarship,

[1] The series *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* (DJD) I–XL; Oxford: Clarendon Press.
[2] For example, DJD V is being re-edited under the direction of George Brooke and Moshe Bernstein. Part of DJD I is being re-edited in the Norwegian project *'Biblical' Texts Older than the Bible*.
[3] The Leon Levi Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library, http://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/.
[4] For example, Charlotte Hempel invites biblical and Qumran scholars to engage in dialogue on the debates on "prebiblical" texts (texts that later became biblical) and non-biblical texts, Charlotte Hempel, "Pluralism and Authoritativeness: The Case of the S Tradition," in *Authoritative Scriptures in Ancient Judaism* (ed. M. Popović; JSJSup 141; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 203–4 (republished in eadem, *The Qumran Rule Texts in Context: Collected Studies* [TSAJ

the scrolls present both new evidence to take into account and a challenge to investigate whether past models of text production, textual editing, and scribal culture are in need of revision.

This article focuses on two Qumran rule manuscript collections (*serakhim*),[5] the *Community Rule* (S), and the *War Scroll* (M), which are central source texts to the study of the sectarian Qumran movement *per se* but also work as *an example of the kind of further evidence available for anyone interested in ancient textual practices and material data*.

The study of these rules was revolutionized by the publication of the Cave 4 manuscripts in the 1990s and 2000s. Until then, the scrolls found in Cave 1, especially 1QCommunity Rule (1QS), were the main representatives of the new scribal activity of the "Qumran community" and the life in the assumed community. The 1QWar Scroll (1QM) was interpreted as demonstrating the eschatological nature of the community. However, 1QWar Scroll was and often still is considered to be in its own category, and much less along with the other rule texts, even though it too preserves the designation *serekh* among its titles.[6] There is

154; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013], 271–84); eadem, *The Qumran Rule Texts in Context*, 285–99.

[5] This category is by no means clear-cut or unproblematic. Below we discuss the use of the term *serekh*. Frequently, the primary examples of the rule texts are the *Community Rule* (S), the *Rule of the Congregation* (1QSa), the *Damascus Document* (D), and few other texts, such as 4QMiscellaneous Rules (4Q265). Hempel helpfully speaks of family resemblance that can be identified in texts belonging to the category, Hempel, *The Qumran Rule Texts in Context*, 1. We wish to add that the *War Scroll* (M) also deserves to be included in the family.

[6] 1QM 3:13; 4:9; 5:3; 9:10. Cf. 1QS 5:1; 6:8; 1QSa 1:1, 6. All in all, the term סרך is frequent in the rule texts: in explicit form, eight times in 1QS, four times in 1QSa, 19 times in 1QM, and 10 times in CD. In 1QM, סרך refers to the array of the final battle, but is also used as a title for different organizational orders. However, the titles are not identical in form: in 1QS and 1QSa, the form is often זה הסרך, whereas the occurrences in 1QM lack the pronoun זה (except in 1QM 16:3 where a new section begins with the words את כול הסרך הזה יעשו). See further distinctions by Charlotte Hempel, "סרך særæk," in *Theologisches Wörterbuch zu den Qumrantexten, Band II* (ed. H.-J. Fabry and U. Damen; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2013), 1111–17, and comparison between the term ספר and סרך by Lawrence H. Schiffman, "'Memory and Manuscript': Books, Scrolls, and the Tradition of the Qumran Texts," in *New Perspectives on Old Texts: Proceedings of the Tenth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associeted Literature, 9–11 January, 2005* (ed. E. G. Chazon and B. Halpern-Amaru; STDJ 88; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 133–50.

a clear need to include it in the dialogue with the other *serakhim,* and this is also one aim of this study.[7]

After the publication of the Cave 4 *serekh* material, urgent questions emerged: How should we interpret the fragmentary evidence in relation to well-preserved Cave 1 manuscripts? How were the various scrolls similar and dissimilar? What can the variant readings reveal to us about the changes within a given work or the changes within the community? Is it possible to show the direction of dependence and trace the development from one manuscript to another?

Questions about variants and their meaning are a natural part of any study of "parallel" manuscripts. The situation in studying "biblical" manuscripts has shown that our previous models and categories are lacking. Categorizing "biblical" scrolls into previously known "textual families" (proto-Samaritan, proto-Masoretic, and proto-Septuagint) or into representatives of local varieties (Palestinian, Babylonian, Egyptian) has proved to be insufficient in explaining the full variety of manuscript evidence, and the situation cannot be improved by adding categories to the previous ones.[8] Textual pluriformity seem to have been the norm rather than an exception.[9] Also, the issue of what marks a literary work as a "rewritten" form of an earlier one rather than a version of that same tradition is thrusting forward important questions of what makes a work distinguishable from other works, what amount of variation is allowed in order to justifiably speak of the same work, and how the

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[7] Another rule text, the *Damascus Document*, known from its medieval manuscripts (CD A, B) and from Cave 4 and 5 manuscripts (4Q266–4Q273, 5Q12), but not from Cave 1, is often compared to the *Community Rule*. Here we focus on the comparison between the *Community Rule* and the *War Scroll*, and the nature of their manuscript evidence.

[8] See, e.g., theories and discussion in Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (Third ed., revised and expanded; Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress Press, 2012); Eugene Charles Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Bible* (Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1999).

[9] See, e.g., the recent judgment by Florentino García Martínez, "Rethinking the Bible: Sixty Years of Dead Sea Scrolls Research and beyond," in *Authoritative Scriptures in Ancient Judaism*, 24–28, and the discussion on how this pluriformity is and could be seen in the present Hebrew Bible editorial projects by Eibert Tigchelaar, "Editing the Hebrew Bible: An Overview of Some Problems," in *Editing the Bible: Assessing the Task Past and Present* (ed. J. S. Kloppenborg and J. H. Newman; Resources for Biblical Study; Atlanta: SBL, 2012), 41–68.

ancient scribes themselves perceived what they were doing.[10] These issues are not at all different from what has been and needs to be asked in the study of the rule texts.[11] In the following, we shall first touch upon a few general issues concerning ancient textual variation before going into detailed evidence on the *Community Rule* and the *War Scroll*.

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[10] The discussion on "rewritten Bible" and rewriting scriptures is vast and vivid, see recently, e.g., Molly M. Zahn, "Genre and Rewritten Scripture: A Reassessment," *JBL* 131 (2012): 271–88; eadem, "Rewritten Scripture," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. T. H. Lim and J. J. Collins; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); Sidnie White Crawford, *Rewriting Scripture in Second Temple Times* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2008), and useful summaries of the state of research by eadem, "'Rewritten Bible' in North American Scholarship," and by Michael Segal, "Qumran Research in Israel: Rewritten Bible and Biblical Interpretation," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Scholarly Perspective: A History of Research* (ed. D. Dimant; STDJ 99; Leiden: Brill, 2012). Recently, Hans Debel, "Moving beyond the Deadlock of 'Rewritten Scripture': Composition and Reception, Once Again" (paper presented at the IOQS Munich 2013), argues that the category of "rewritten Scripture" is not useful since it confuses two things: rewriting as a way of creating texts, and authority being ascribed to a text. Scriptural texts themselves emerged as a result of rewriting (intertextuality), and rewriting is not the same as recognition of authority.

[11] While we wish to critically view the concepts and models that influence scholarship, we ourselves struggle to find the most useful and least problematic concepts. The reader will notice the terms such as "work," "tradition," "text," "version," and even "composition" and "document" being used also in this article, without any highly formalized definitions. Our contention is that the indispensable level should always include the understanding of the material remains: the (scholarly reconstructions of) physical fragments and manuscripts. Scholars often hurry to understand either the literary works or compositions (structured textual ideas) that the material manuscripts transmit, or the traditions present in the manuscripts (independent ideational parts, such as the tradition on the two spirits, or terminologically marked distinct elements, such as the "*rabbim*" tradition). Material features are neglected. They might nevertheless play a part in the meanings of a tradition or a literary work—at least as for the manner of their representation, purpose, distribution, and usability. Different levels of analysis should not be merged together, but we claim that the material level and the literary level, as well as the scholarly editorial level of representing and speaking about these, are important and should illuminate each other. In other words, scholars should not only analyse the ideational/intertextual level *or* the material scribal cultural level, but seek to understand the ways in which these two interacted and influenced each other. The term "document" is in this article used purposefully for one possible term to be understood as crossing boundaries between these levels. A physical manuscript always *documents* something—it represents, preserves, and transmits certain ideas, claims, and information in a particular form and order. At the same time, a manuscript represents a *document*, a whole and a unity, which can be taken on its own and which interacts with whoever is reading it. *Both* the material level and the literary level can be approached from two directions: from the outside, placing the document as part of the wider process of documenting (e.g., earlier traditions, parallel manuscripts), and from the inside, emphasizing the uniqueness and completeness of that particular document (e.g., material features of a particular manuscript, significance and message of that piece of information).

Models to Think with

A growing number of scholars have actively sought new models to *think with* when we study ancient manuscript variation. One starting point is the observation that our scholarship has been, and probably still is, very much influenced by what could be called as an anachronistic "book model" that modern scholars are themselves used to living with. This includes ideas and material features relating to printing culture and accuracy in reproduction, to the process of publishing a work—be it its first print or subsequent re-prints or re-editions—and the idea of finality (cf. pre-publication form is often called a "manuscript"), to the use of codex form and material features such as table of contents, not to mention ideas like authorial rights and plagiarism. It could therefore be argued that this model assumes a closed and often authorized or somehow fixed text or collection of texts, which was not present in the scroll-manufacturing culture and times before the canon. Thus, when we say "psalms," our primary model presumes a "Book of Psalms," a collection later known by that name and connected to a material object which has certain characteristics, such as codex form, division between different psalms, a certain length and structure. We may adjust our model on the basis of the close study and reading of a psalms scroll, such as 11QPs^{a}, but our anachronistic model is yet revealed in the way we, for example, count the "number of copies of the (Book of) Psalms" preserved in the Qumran collection, even though some manuscripts contain only fragments of some psalms and little or no evidence of how large the collection was and whether the title "Psalms" as we know it is at all warranted.[12] In contrast, when the ancients said "psalms," they may have had in mind a thing closer to a category such as "prayer" or "wisdom": things

[12] Cf. Eva Mroczek, "Thinking Digitally about the Dead Sea Scrolls: Book History before and beyond the Book," *Book History* 14 (2011): 241–69. See also Mika S. Pajunen, *The Land to the Elect and Justice for All: Reading Psalms in the Dead Sea Scrolls in Light of 4Q381* (JAJSup 14; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013), 15–23, 374–77, who discusses the question of labelling psalms as "apocryphal" or not.

that are not bound to any one collection or fixed entity but can materialize in written and oral-performative form.[13]

If the book model is not appropriate, what is then? When orality was observed to be an essential part of any writing culture of antiquity, it was suggested that a scroll or a codex in the pre-print era was like musical notes to a musician: notations and visual aids in their oral performance.[14] Going further along those lines, "new (material) philology" is a novel approach, adopted from medieval studies, according to which manuscript variation is the very essence of most manuscript cultures. Each manuscript should be recognized to have its own characteristics when analysing the meanings attached to that text, and the roles of authors, scribes, performers, readers and users are *all* part of what makes a given artefact what it is.[15]

Some scholars have begun to seek analogies or new metaphors in the contemporary digital age: in open-ended collective enterprises such as Wikipedia or open source programming languages, or in the reading practices of the Internet with their different modules, links outside and

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[13] Below we discuss how the book model influences the perception of "rules" in the way in which rules are seen as "complete" works, instead of open-ended collections of rules. However, "rules" are not similar to "psalms" in the sense that psalms appear to be short individual pieces (whatever the coherence or not in organizing them together), whereas rules are often longer and written in prose. Dissimilarities between different genres and kinds of collections have to be allowed for. Nevertheless, the aim here is to identify the influence of our modern conceptions on the ancient ones.

[14] On orality and writtenness, see Martin S. Jaffee, *Torah in the Mouth: Writing and Oral Tradition in Palestinian Judaism 200 BCE–400 CE* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001). David M. Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart: Origins of Scripture and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005) notes the importance of performing in the ancient reading and memorizing practices. See also Karel van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture and the Making of the Hebrew Bible* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2007), esp. 9–49. Written texts were perceived as living oral traditions and reservoirs and actualizations of wisdom, rather than fixed, final statements; an author was not an individual stating a new piece of information but rather a speaker with authority from earlier sayings and voices. However, scholars also acknowledge that not all pieces of rewriting and additions were carriers of earlier oral traditions but could result from the creative work of the scribes who were versed in earlier writings: e.g., Gard Granerød, *Abraham and Melchizedek: Scribal Activity of Second Temple Times in Genesis 14 and Psalm 110* (BZAW 406; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2010).

[15] See the introduction by Liv Ingeborg Lied and Hugo Lundhaug, eds., *Snapshots of Evolving Traditions: Jewish and Christian Manuscript Culture, Textual Fluidity, and New Philology* (De Gruyter, forthcoming).

across the sections, and hierarchies of information. Francis Borchardt explains that, in open source programs (such as Unix, Linux, Mozilla Firefox Internet Browser), "the products are by their very design adaptable" for anyone who has access to the code and is able to improve its properties or adapt its functions for his or her needs.[16] Here the argument goes that, just as only a small community of people is now able to participate in this kind of "editorial" work, so also in the ancient world a very small minority was literate and skilled enough to operate with texts and scrolls. Furthermore, both processes result in variant versions, used simultaneously, and often with no linear evolution. Every product is complete (for one who uses it), and no product is complete: the success of the products depends on the user communities adopting them and further adjusting them, and authorship is irrelevant to the users.[17] To view the Cave 4 manuscripts from this perspective certainly highlights the focus on individual manuscripts, not just on the textual history of one work.

According to the Internet user perspective, the analogy is drawn between the amount and fluidity of information existing on the Internet and the borderless traditions existing in the ancient world, as well as the fragmented reading practices in both.[18] Traditions were perceived to be as bountiful as one in the present-day world would consider the digital world: no one can even imagine printing the Internet, as remarked by Eva Mroczek.[19] This is, in our view, especially suitable for thinking about the rules.

In the following, we are not suggesting one analogy on ancient rule texts, but wish to question the existing ones. Borchardt applied the open source-code analogy to Daniel material, but it remains to be investigated how widely the same idea can be applied to other types of material. We shall take selected examples from the *Community Rule* and the

[16] Francis Borchardt, "The Open Source Bible: The Court Tales of the Book of Daniel as Source Code" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the SBL, Chicago, 2012).
[17] Borchardt, "The Open Source Bible." Mroczek, "Thinking Digitally about the Dead Sea Scrolls," 252, speaks of scribes as "inspired performers."
[18] Mroczek, "Thinking Digitally about the Dead Sea Scrolls," 241–69.
[19] Ibid., 251.

War Scroll, especially the material evidence of their manuscripts and their editions, to point out which kinds of models are in need of further consideration and might help us forward. We shall discuss three issues concerning the fragmentary evidence of 4QS and 4QM manuscripts in relation to better preserved scrolls of 1QS and 1QM: 1) How the evidence is labelled and spoken of; 2) How the fragments and manuscripts are being edited; 3) How the differences between textual forms and physical aspects of the manuscripts are explained. All these questions relate to what we consider ancient manuscripts to represent and what we can learn from how ancient scribes worked and perceived their work. There are always two levels present in discussing manuscript evidence: modern scholarly practices of editing the manuscripts and concepts of speaking about them, and ancient scholarly and scribal practices of producing and using the manuscripts.

The Same Work or Different Works? Principles of Labelling Manuscript Evidence

Many scholars have noted how labelling scrolls as "biblical" or not have influenced the perception of scrolls and the category of "biblical" scrolls.[20] Similarly, labelling Cave 4 rule texts that have parallels or parallel sections in Cave 1 texts matters a great deal for understanding the category of the rule texts. Which manuscripts are viewed by scholars as "copies" of the same literary work and which manuscripts are viewed as distinct, separate works—and *is there consistency in the principles used?* Is it a matter of the amount of the shared material or the nature of the differing material? Does the ancient evidence contain any hints? We wish to pay attention to possible inconsistencies—they reveal that the

[20] Some of the most famous examples are the manuscripts 4Q158, 4Q364–367, which were first titled as 4QRewritten Pentateuch, but later scholars have proposed they should be referred to simply as 4QTorah or 4QPentateuch; see Emanuel Tov, "From 4QReworked Pentateuch to 4QPentateuch (?)," in *Authoritative Scriptures in Ancient Judaism*, 73–91; Crawford, "'Rewritten Bible' in North American Scholarship," 76; Segal, "Qumran Research in Israel: Rewritten Bible and Biblical Interpretation," 319–20.

issue is complex—not to say which principles are correct or claim that correct principles are even found yet.

Community Rule

Which manuscripts preserve the *Community Rule*? Ten manuscripts from Cave 4 and possibly one from Cave 5 (4Q255–264 [4QS$^{a–j}$], 5Q11 [5QS]) are normally taken to represent the *Community Rule*.[21] Another manuscript, 5Q13, on the other hand, is considered to represent another work, 5QCiting the Community Rule[22] or 5Q(Sectarian) Rule,[23] since only one of its over twenty small fragments is thought to have a clear parallel to the S material. However, most of the fragments of 5Q13 contain only a few words or letters, which has to be taken into account if the *amount* of shared material is significant in determining the nature of the manuscript: most fragments cannot be identified properly. Explicit parallels to 1QS/4QS exist in fragment 4 of 5Q13, and these are about covenant renewal themes (examination, purifica-

[21] Philip Alexander and Geza Vermes, the DJD editors of 4QS manuscripts, state in DJD 26:1: "The *Community Rule* or *Serekh ha-Yaḥad* (S), known also as the Manual of Discipline, is attested by one, almost complete, scroll from cave 1 (1QS) and by numerous fragments from cave 4 (4QS^{a-j})." Often, they speak of "copies" of the *Community Rule* (e.g., pp. 8–9). Similarly, the editors Elisha Qimron and James Charlesworth, "Rule of the Community: Cave IV Fragments (4Q255–264 = 4QS MSS A–J)" in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations. Vol. 1: Rule of the Community and Related Documents* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth, with F. M. Cross et al.; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994), 53, write: "Twelve copies of the *Rule of the Community* have been identified in the Qumran Caves." However, in the case of 5Q11, Charlesworth, "Possible Fragment of the Rule of the Community (5Q11)" in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations. Vol. 1,* 105, is more careful and labels it only as a "possible" fragment of the *Community Rule* (but cf. p. 2). Further fragments of S have also been identified, e.g., 11Q29: Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, "A Newly Identified 11QSerekh ha-Yahad Fragment (11Q29)?" in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Fifty Years after Their Discovery. Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997* (ed. L. H. Schiffman et al.; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society in cooperation with the Shrine of the Book, Israel Museum, 2000), 439–52.

[22] Sarianna Metso, *The Serekh Texts* (Companion to the Qumran Scrolls 9; London: T&T Clark, 2007), 61.

[23] J. T. Milik, DJD 3:180–81; Lawrence H. Schiffman, "Sectarian Rule (5Q13)," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations. Vol. 1*, 132–33.

tion, annual cycle), but the order of themes is different from 1QS.[24] The material before this, in 5Q13 1–3, is about recounting God's past deeds.[25] This has no direct parallel in 1QS but it is material that very well *could* be the kind of action referred to in the covenant renewal ceremony of 1QS 1:21–22: "The priests are to rehearse God's gracious acts made manifest by mighty deeds, heralding His loving mercies on Israel's behalf." Therefore, this manuscript has much greater potential to be seen as part of a *Community Rule* than perhaps it first appears on the basis of strict parallels.[26]

In comparison, some of the "copies" of the *Community Rule* contain material that has no parallel in 1QS or other S manuscripts. Most famously, 4QS^{e} contains the calendrical text at the end where 1QS has the final hymn. But minor non-parallels are also significant. To name two examples: Two fragments out of four of 4QpapS^{a} (frag. A and B = 3 and 4) have no direct parallel in 1QS or elsewhere.[27] Two of the three fragments of 4QS^{h} have no parallel in 1QS or elsewhere.[28] Should these manuscripts still be considered as S manuscripts and on what grounds?

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[24] Thus, for example, the rule of following the practice annually is mentioned only after the rule about purification, Schiffman, "Sectarian Rule (5Q13)," 137. Schiffman also notes that examination before the *mevaqqer* (instructor) more closely resembles CD 15:11 than 1QS where the examination takes place before the *paqid* (overseer, 1QS 6:13–15). In the other fragments, further parallels to 1QS exist in 5Q13: the theme of confession in 5Q13 22 (cf. 1QS 1:25) and the annual cycle in 5Q13 28 (cf. 1QS 2:19; 5:24; see pp. 140–43).

[25] The theme and vocabulary are reminiscent of psalms where God is praised for remembering and keeping his covenant with the ancestors, e.g., Ps 105:8–10.

[26] The liturgical elements in 5Q13 also point towards another set of manuscripts, the *Berakhot* (4Q286–290), which likewise include a combination of rules and liturgical material connected to the covenant ritual. Should parts of S be seen as *Berakhot* or the other way around? Or should one be seen as an embryonic form of the other? Another kind of combination can be found in 4Q265, which is named 4QMiscellaneous Rules (or previously 4QSerekh Dameseq), since it contains both rules similar to S material (penal code, organizational material) and rules similar to D material (*halakha,* penal code). The unexpected mixture puzzles scholars, and there are no clear categories available. The element of *halakhot* (e.g., Sabbath laws) seems to prevent the manuscript being seen as anything close to S.

[27] According to Alexander and Vermes, DJD 26:27, the manuscript 4Q255 has four fragments: 1, 2, A and B. Before the DJD edition, Sarianna Metso, *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule* (STDJ 21; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 18, numbered these fragments as 1, 2, 3, and 4.

[28] The inclusion of the third fragment of 4QS^{h} is also questioned by the DJD editors Alexander and Vermes, DJD 26:11. If it does not belong here, two fragments remain and one has a parallel to 1QS. In the edition by Qimron and Charlesworth, "Rule of the Community:

In the first case, 4QpapS[a], the opening line ספר סרכ היחד is preserved (1:1) and has a clear parallel to 1QS's ספר סר]ך היחד[(1:1).[29] The DJD editors consider this as a critical feature of the manuscript being "a version of S and not simply a miscellany of quotations from diverse sources."[30] This may be justified, but the title in 1QS is partly reconstructed and preserves the only parallel of all S manuscripts, so the title cannot be considered as very representative of all the S works.[31] Charlotte Hempel suggests that 4QpapS[a] may have contained one of the earliest drafts of the opening columns of S, not yet as extensive in form as later attested.[32]

Concerning the other case, 4QS[h], Metso is sceptical: "There is a good likelihood that the manuscript is not a copy of the Community Rule at all, but some other work (a collection of hymns?) quoting a phrase from the Community Rule."[33] This judgment seems to be based on the amount of shared material, which is too little to create an impression of the same literary work and also on the fact that what is shared (i.e., par. to 1QS 3:4–5) could be a "floating" quotation since it

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Cave IV Fragments," 98–99, the manuscript only has one fragment, the one that is parallel to 1QS 3:4–6.

[29] In 4QpapS[a], the final *kaf* is not different from medial *kaf*.

[30] Alexander and Vermes, DJD 26:10. Cf. also page 30: The preserved title "suggests that 4QpapS[a] was a 'complete' copy of S."

[31] However, the words]ומן היחד ך[סר are also reconstructed in the handle sheet verso of 1QS. Metso, *The Textual Development*, 14, considers the first words (= Serekh ha-yahad) to refer to 1QS, and the title beginning with the preposition מן to refer to 1QSa and 1QSb. If the reconstruction of the title is correct, then it may partly link 4QpapSa and 1QS together. The unparalleled fragment 3 (or A) of 4QpapSa contains the expression רוחות[מ]אישׁ (4QpapSa 3 4), not found anywhere else, so there clearly is at least something unique to this manuscript.

[32] Charlotte Hempel, "The Long Text of the *Serekh* as Crisis Literature" (paper presented at the The Fourteenth International Symposium of the Orion Centre: The Religious Worldviews Reflected in the Dead Sea Scrolls, Jerusalem, May, 2013). Cf. also Metso, *The Textual Development*, 20, n. 31. The DJD editors too consider the possibility that the manuscript is a "draft," but not simply a draft of 1QS 1–4 as Hempel proposes; cf. Alexander and Vermes, DJD 26:30: "The fact that it is written so roughly on the back of another text suggests that it may be an early draft or personal copy of S." 4QpapS[c] likewise preserves material parallel to 1QS 1–4 only and was scribed at the same time as 1QS.

[33] Metso, *The Textual Development*, 61; Metso, *The Serekh Texts*, 5.

is also found in 5Q13 (on this mss, see above).[34] However, unlike Metso, the DJD editors are willing to see 4QS^{h} as an S manuscript, as the signum also indicates, but they state: "This scroll may not have been a complete copy of S" (*sic!*).[35] Such a choice of words ("a complete copy of S") should be a warning bell to us: it seems to presume the existence of a thing that is finished, superior, and even closed.[36]

The above examples suffice here to demonstrate what we clearly know from the existing manuscript evidence, and no one denies this: *no remaining manuscript, given the title "S," is completely identical with another S manuscript.*[37] There is considerable variance, not only in textual forms and minor variant readings but also in the existence or not of sections that a given manuscript has.[38] On the basis of the existing material evidence, there never was an S manuscript that was identical to another S manuscript. Therefore, there is no reason to assume that one manuscript was superior to another, or that we immediately know which manuscript may have been superior in the ancient usage.

[34] Metso, *The Serekh Texts*, 62, also proposes the possibility that 4QS^{h} is a copy of 5Q13 (= not S, according to present editions).
[35] Alexander and Vermes, DJD 26:11.
[36] Differently, Metso, *The Textual Development*, 154: "On the basis of comparison between the manuscripts of the Community Rule found in Caves 1, 4 and 5 it is clear that there never existed a single, legitimate and up-to-date version of the Community Rule." Hempel, too, insists that the final, authoritative "*Endtext*" of the Rule cannot be established, Hempel, "Pluralism and Authoritativeness," 208.
[37] There is also the matter of scope. Is it justified to name one single fragment as an S manuscript (such as 4Q263 [4QS^{i}] and 4Q264 [4QS^{j}], see Alexander and Vermes, DJD 26:197, 201), when there is an identifiable parallel to S material, but only in a few lines, and no data on what else this manuscript may have contained, if anything?
[38] Qimron and Charlesworth, "Rule of the Community: Cave IV Fragments," 53, note that the 10 mss from Cave 4 may not be copies of the *Community Rule* but that "they may be in many cases *copies* of documents, like the hymn in column 11, which evolved separately and were finally collected together into the *Rule of the Community*." This possibility, however, is not shown in the way they label the manuscripts and generally speak of them as copies of S.

War Scroll

Considering the *War Scroll*, on the other hand, six Cave 4 manuscripts (4Q491–496) together with 1QM are regarded as representative of this work. Scholars may characterize these 4QM manuscripts as different "recensions" or "traditions," but the manuscripts are titled as M manuscripts. It is noteworthy that, the smaller the remains of the Cave 4 fragments or the less script preserved on them, the more likely it is that scholars have defined the manuscript as being identical with or representing the same tradition as 1QM.[39] However, none of the 4QM manuscripts that have preserved a greater amount of text can be shown to be exactly identical to 1QM.[40] It can thus be asked: How reasonable is it to suppose that one of the extremely fragmentary manuscripts would have been identical to 1QM?[41]

In addition to these manuscripts, there are manuscripts that resemble 1QM but are not defined as M texts: in the DJD series, 4Q471 belongs to the category of *War Scroll-like texts,* and 11Q14 and 4Q285 are defined as presenting *Sefer ha-Milhamah*.[42] These categories are not clearly defined: *War Scroll-like texts* and *Sefer ha-Milhamah* texts as well

[39] Cf. Jean Duhaime, *The War Texts: 1QM and Related Fragments* (CQS 6; London: T&T Clark, 2004), 41 (also 20–30), who defines the very fragmentary 4Q494, 4Q495 and 4Q496 as representing "recensions" similar to 1QM, and Brian Schultz, *Conquering the World: The War Scroll (1QM) Reconsidered* (STDJ 76; Leiden: Brill, 2009), 18–19 (also 391–92), who categorizes 4Q494 and 4Q495 as "copies of a same recension" as 1QM (p. 391). It is of course tempting, when there is not much left of the text but that text fits together with 1QM, to suggest that the lost text proceeds similarly to 1QM. However, on the differences and the fragmentary nature of these manuscripts, see note 41.

[40] Cf. 4Q491a, 4Q491b, and 4Q493, which Duhaime, *The War Texts*, 41 (also 20–30), defines as "other recensions," and Schultz, *Conquering the World*, 18–19 (also 396–97) as "different recensions" of 1QM. Note also 4Q492, which Duhaime defines as a "similar recension" and Schultz as a "copy of the same recension" as 1QM, but which, however, has some differences in comparison to 1QM.

[41] In addition, there are distinguishable differences between the extremely fragmentary manuscripts and 1QM: For example, 4Q494 is sometimes considered to be identical with 1QM but there probably is at least one extra *vacat* in comparison to 1QM. See Schultz, *Conquering the World*, 222, 227, esp. n. 144. As regards 4Q495, its frg. 2 appears to be identical with the text of 1QM 13:9–12—but drawing this conclusion presumes much reconstruction.

[42] For 4Q471 and 4Q285, see Alexander et al., DJD 36. For 11Q14, see García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and van der Woude, DJD 33. Note also 4Q497 which, according to Baillet, DJD 7:69, is "texte ayant quelque rapport avec la règle de la guerre."

have parallels to 1QM. For example, one out of three fragments of 4Q471is considered to be a parallel to 1QM 2 and to 4Q491 1.[43] 4Q285 was first suggested to represent parts of the missing end of 1QM but, in DJD 36, 4Q285 is categorized as representing *Sefer ha-Milhamah* texts. The main reason for this categorization was the term נשיא העדה, which occurs particularly often in 4Q285 (IV 2, 6; VII 4) but only once in 1QM (see 5:1 where the term is actually נשיא כול העדה).[44] At the same time, some of the M texts do contain a considerable amount of material with no direct parallel to 1QM: 4Q493 is one example.[45] There is no clear policy why one manuscript is labelled M and another is not. Another good example is the manuscript 4Q491b, which has material not directly paralleled in 1QM and material in different order than in 1QM. We shall discuss this example further below, so the following table illustrates here the general difference of 4Q491b fragments 1–3 to 1QM (parallel material is marked with italics).[46]

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[43] See Eshel and Eshel in DJD 36:442 (ed. Alexander et al.). It should be noted, however, that the fragment in question (frg. 1) is poorly preserved: in its nine lines, only 1–4 words per line are extant.

[44] Alexander and Vermes in DJD 36:231–32, propose designating 4Q285 as *Sefer ha-Milhamah* "in order to indicate its close relationship to, but independence of, 1QM." Eibert Tigchelaar ("Working with Few Data: The Relation Between 4Q285 and 11Q14," *DSD* 7 [2000]: 49–56) notes regarding 4QM and 1QM that they cannot be considered as simply copies of the same composition but that "there were different compositions or editions dealing with the eschatological war, which were related to one another. 4Q285 and 11Q14 might be copies of one of those editions, or may represent a related composition." Philip Alexander ("The Evil Empire: The Qumran Eschatological War Cycle and the Origins of Jewish Opposition to Rome," in *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint, and the Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov* [ed. S. M. Paul et al.; VTSup 94; Leiden: Brill, 2003], 17–30) argues that 4Q285 and 1QM are distinct as regards the type of literature they represent: 4Q285 represents the intellectual scenario of the end-time war, whereas 1QM represents the strategic and *serekh*-literature for the war;, however, the division is in our view not so clear as to allow such a categorization. See also Duhaime, *The War Texts*, 33, who summarizes the research history of 4Q285.

[45] For 4Q493, see, e.g., Duhaime, *The War Texts*, 30.

[46] The ensemble of 4Q491b fragments 1–3 shares most with 1QM; fragments 4–7, 16–17, 19–21 and 23 cannot be plausibly compared with 1QM since they are so small and fragmentary. The division of manuscript 4Q491 into three parts, a-, b-, and c-manuscript, is based on the study by Martin Abegg, "The War Scroll from Qumran Caves 1 and 4" (PhD diss., Hebrew Union College, 1993). In his dissertation, Abegg ("The War Scroll," 4–9) divided the fragments of 4Q491 into three categories according to the script, line height, and orthography: group A includes fragments 8–10, 11 col. II, 13–15, 18, 22, 24–28, 31–33, 35, group B fragments 1–7, 16–17, 19–21, 23 and group C fragments 12 and 11, col. I. Brian Schultz

4QMa/b (4Q491b) frgs. 1–3	**contents**	**direct/certain parallels in 1QM**[47]
Lines 1–5	Hymn(?): God and his angels are involved in the war (ends with *vacat*)	–
Line 6a	"The rule to observe in their encampments" begins	–
–	Arranging the divisions, weapons, tactics, age limits	5:3–7:3a
Lines 6b–7a	Preparations: *requirements for entry to war* (women, children, unclean men cannot go; something is said about the craftsmen and the smelters; the section ends with *vacat*)	7:3b–5a (in addition, lame, blind, crippled, disabled cannot go; nothing about craftsmen or smelters)
Lines 7b–9a	Preparations: separation of holy and unclean (the section ends with *vacat*) • *The distance between the camps and the latrine(?)* • Separating men for the daily duty • *Going to the house of meeting*	 • 7:6b–7 (after the mention on angels) • – • 3:4b (in the middle of the list of trumpets)

(*Conquering the World*, 17, 20–22, 373–74) supports Abegg's view, and Esther Eshel ("4Q471B: A Self-Glorification Hymn," *RevQ* 17 [1996]: 175–203) has also pointed out that 4Q491c has some unique orthography and phrases. Duhaime does not divide 4Q491 into three in his edition but he introduces Abegg's theory in his book *The War Texts: 1QM and related fragments* (CQS 6. London: T&T Clark, 2004), 24–30, and considers it plausible. However, Abegg's theory has also been criticized: Florentino García Martínez and Eibert Tigchelaar followed Abegg's division in their *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (Leiden: Brill,1998), 2:978–981, but later García Martínez, "Old Texts and Modern Mirages: The 'I' of Two Qumran Hymns," *ETL* 78 (2002): 321–39, came to the conclusion that the separation of 4Q491b and 4Q491c is not convincing although 4Q491a clearly is a separate manuscript (p. 328). Kipp Davis is working on the material and suggests re-joining some of the fragments. He sees two different hands and possibly several compositions in the same scroll (oral communication, results to be published in 2015). Being conscious of this ongoing debate, we take our examples from the manuscript 4Q491b, but our main argument does not depend on Abegg's theory.

[47] In 4Q491b, there occur elements parallel to 1QM in almost every part of the text, cf. e.g., lines 1–5 and 1QM 1:4–9, 14–15; 13:1–3; or line 13b and 1QM 7:12b–9:9. However, in this table, only direct/certain parallels are taken into account. What should also be noted is that 4Q491b fragments 1–3 include 20 fragmentary lines. They have parallels to various parts of 1QM, namely columns 3–9, which is a large section of text.

Lines 10b–18	Going to the war	
	• *Requirements for entry into the war (unclean men cannot go) and the reasons for them (the angels are involved in the war)*	• 7:5b–6a
	• *Proceeding to the war* (three lines)	• 5:16–17 (seven lines)
		• –
	• Marching out in turns	• 9,17b (?)
	• *Setting up an ambush*	• –
	• Directing the war with trumpets	• –
	• Gathering the lines	• –
	• Three lines march out in turns	• 7:10–12a
	• The war garments	
–	The tasks for the priests and the Levites, directing the war with trumpets	7:12b–9:9
Lines 19–20	Fulfilling the rule (?)	–

TABLE 1. COMPARISON BETWEEN 4Q491b AND 1QM.

The table illustrates that both manuscripts include restrictions about persons who can participate in the warfare and both texts are concerned about the purity of the camp and the battle, but the information is clearly organized differently, and 4Q491b includes more detailed procedures for the preparations as well as the opening section (hymn?) in connection with these matters, unlike 1QM columns 3–9.

To conclude this section, (1) comparing the S and M policies, the principles of naming the S and the M manuscripts seem not to be the same as regards the amount of variation allowed between different manuscripts. In the case of M, there are manuscripts, interpreted as representing M, that clearly contain material not having any direct parallel in 1QM (such as 4Q491b, 4Q493), whereas in the case of S, the manuscripts containing anything in slightly better shape but different from 1QS (except the calendar section at the end) are placed outside the S category (such as 5Q13; 4Q265). (2) Furthermore, in both cases, a closer look at S and M manuscripts reveals that the individual manuscripts are *always* different from each other in some respects (either concerning individual variants or the sections included), and often are in a very fragmentary condition or extant only in one or a few fragments, making it very speculative to determine what the original manuscript

might have looked like. (3) Outside the scholarly S and M categories, on the other hand, there exist manuscripts that are not similar to other S and M manuscripts in all parts but clearly are similar in some parts, and *possibly no more different* than the manuscripts inside the S and M categories. The differences found in varying principles are understandable since the editors are not the same and the publications derive from different stages of DJD publication history, but it demonstrates that editorial principles are not consistent, and certainly have an impact on further scholarly work, especially serious for non-Qumran specialists who might not feel competent to study the primary manuscript evidence.

Principles of Manuscript Editing

Speaking about different manuscript versions of any literary work is of course complicated by the fact that the existing evidence is fragmentary. Editing and reconstructing fragments are very much connected to our views of what a given manuscript is thought to represent and what it could have been like in its fully preserved form. Quite naturally, consciously and unconsciously, the longer and better preserved manuscripts function as models for putting together the pieces of the less well preserved manuscript fragments.[48] Only recently has this been questioned, and the general principles of editorial practices and goals of editing have started to move towards more careful and refined paths. Eibert Tigchelaar has put forward the important claim that editing is constructing, that is, interpreting the evidence—not reconstructing, building it up as if the end result was visible from the existing pieces.[49] The first level of editing is to transcribe the text in the fragments, but all the following levels (editing manuscripts, works, and textual groups) are schol-

[48] Similarly, in the case of "biblical" manuscripts, priority has often been given to the "complete" Masoretic text, which has then influenced the reconstructions of the Qumran Hebrew manuscripts.

[49] Eibert Tigchelaar, "Proposals for the Critical Editing of Scrolls Compositions" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the SBL, 2012; available through www.academia.edu).

arly constructs.[50] Thus the field is changing in many respects for the future. Here we shall illustrate the importance of going back to the material evidence and seeing what exactly is extant in each case and what is not: how the joins between fragments, reconstructions of lacunae, and the number of columns are based on scholarly assumptions, and how strong each assumption is on the basis of existing evidence. Let us take a closer look at the two examples chosen for this article, first the *Community Rule* and then the *War Scroll*, to see how the Cave 1 versions have influenced the editorial principles of Cave 4 material.

Community Rule

Alexander and Vermes, the DJD editors of 4QS material, explain that they have a "maximalist approach" to editing the fragments. They clearly state that 1QS, as the "more or less complete manuscript of the document," should always be checked to see if lacunae in Cave 4 fragments can be reconstructed accordingly.[51] This principle should, in our view, be questioned unless there is some evidence to suggest that 1QS should be given priority and other manuscripts depend on it. The editors admit that 1QS is not a very carefully prepared manuscript but contains many scribal errors and corrections, and they too see problems in merely using the text of 1QS to reconstruct other manuscripts if 1QS has errors or problems.[52] The maximalist principle is not justified if we think that 1QS is not in any way special except for the fact that it is well preserved. However, corrections in 1QS have also been suggested to indicate that 1QS was especially carefully preserved in order to serve

[50] Tigchelaar hopes that scholars will move beyond the fragment level and invites critical editions of works, similar to critical editions of "biblical works." Editions of the scrolls may also differ depending on the audience.

[51] Alexander and Vermes, DJD 26:15. The editors also express reservations about Hartmut Stegemann's method of material reconstruction (p. 16).

[52] Alexander and Vermes, DJD 26:16. Similarly Qimron and Charlesworth, "Rule of the Community: Cave IV Fragments," 53: "It is unwise to assume it [1QS] is the final or best version of this important collection of rules."

as a model of the *Community Rule*.[53] On this suggestion, two issues need to be distinguished: The fact that 1QS happens to be an almost completely preserved scroll should not be used as evidence to think that 1QS is a complete copy of the S tradition and others are not.[54] If we think that 1QS is special because it is the longest representative of the S tradition, we already base the argument on assumptions about the original length of the other manuscripts—which requires material reconstruction and careful judgment of how certain conclusions about the length can be achieved. On the other hand, scribal corrections may indeed suggest that editorial activity was deemed necessary for this scroll but this editorial activity should not be prioritized for other types of editorial and scribal activity without further grounds.

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[53] This is cautiously suggested by Eibert Tigchelaar, "In Search of the Scribe of 1QS," in *Emanuel*, 439–52, esp. 451, on the basis of comparison of 1QS to 4Q175, which were copied by the same scribe: 1QS contains many corrections, showing that the scribe was less trained and influenced by the weakening of gutturals and Aramaisms, but yet the scribe was more consistent in orthography and morphology in 1QS than in 4Q175. Tigchelaar further suggests (p. 452) that the scribe of 1QS compiled the biblical quotations in 4Q175 *or* used these quotations to compose 1QS 9:3–11, one of the sections that are clearly interpolations in 1QS. However, it should be noted that this section is present in 4QS^{d} (but famously lacking in 4QS^{e}), so the interpolation was not known only by the scribe of 1QS. Devorah Dimant, "The Composite Character of the Qumran Sectarian Literature as an Indication of Its Date and Provenance," *RevQ* 22 (2006): 615–30, makes a stronger case for 1QS being a model copy. In the end, however, we do not have the firm evidence to suggest that this particular copy was a model copy, if the concept of "model copy" requires that we find 1QS re-copied: there is no identical scroll to 1QS.

[54] Here, the profile of the scroll caves is a relevant issue: What should be inferred, for example, from the fact that 1QS was in a scroll jar and 4QS manuscripts were not? Recently, scholars have begun to investigate the possible profile of different Qumran caves. Could Cave 1 and Cave 4 texts be defined as distinct from the other cave collections and from each other, and, if so, how? Hempel, *The Qumran Rule Texts in Context*, 303–37, proposes that Cave 4 texts comprise a highly "eclectic and scholarly" collection. Cave 1, on the other hand, could be a selection from Cave 4 texts; see Hempel, *The Qumran Rule Texts in Context*, 331, and Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra, "Old Caves and Young Caves: A Statistical Reevaluation of a Qumran Consensus," *DSD* 14 (2007): 313–33. The strict distinction between 1QS and 4QS versions is not useful, as Hempel, "The Long Text of the *Serekh,*" shows when she rather makes a distinction between the "long version" of S (1QS and 4QS^{a,b,c} that include material from the first four columns) and "short version" of S (4QS^{d}). She suggests that the long version could be reflecting a response to a crisis situation or commitment problems in the movement. For further discussion on the profile of the caves, see Hempel, *The Qumran Rule Texts in Context*, 308–11.

To discuss one example of the editorial principles of 4QS texts in more detail, we shall take a look at 4QS^{b} (4Q256). This is a designation for the remains of some 8–15 fragments, dating from the second half of the 1st century B.C.E., with very few material joins between them.[55] To reach any conclusions about the original size of the scroll and placement of the fragments, existing material features are of vital importance. Alexander and Vermes reconstruct 23 columns and state that, "the text seems originally to have matched 1QS in length and general content,"[56] even though material from only nine columns is preserved. They do not make the estimation on the basis of material features of the existing fragments, but on the basis of the text of 1QS. They also consider the possibility that the scroll was even longer, since the last column contains text where 1QS ends.[57] Sarianna Metso paid more careful attention to the material features in her study from 1997. She follows Milik's suggestion that the manuscript contained 20 columns altogether.[58] The fragments of 4QS^{b} contain material which, in Metso's view, is parallel to 1QS in the following way (brief descriptions of contents are ours):[59]

[55] Alexander and Vermes, DJD 26:39–64. According to the editors, the inclusion of fragment 1 in the manuscript is not certain. The editors list 8 fragments but several fragments consist of many pieces, 15 altogether. Metso, *The Textual Development*, 22–24, lists 12 fragments.
[56] Alexander and Vermes, DJD 26:39.
[57] Alexander and Vermes, DJD 26:41, 63.
[58] Metso, *The Textual Development*, 22–31, Plates II, III; Geza Vermes, "Preliminary Remarks on Unpublished Fragments of the Community Rule from Qumran Cave 4," *JJS* 42 (1991): 250–55. However, another matter is the degree of certainty in placing the fragments in a particular order in the first place: this order very much follows the order of 1QS. Metso says that the fragments do not allow the kind of material reconstruction as in many other 4QS manuscripts (4QS^{c,d,e,f}).
[59] Alison Schofield, *From Qumran to the Yahad: A New Paradigm of Textual Development for the Community Rule* (STDJ 77; Leiden: Brill, 2009), largely follows Metso. See her appendix where she presents a synoptic comparison.

4QS[b] (4Q256) Metso	DJD[60]	contents	parallel in 1QS
frgs. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6	1–3	Material from the covenant entry/ renewal ceremony	1QS 1:16–19, 21–23; 2:4–5, 7–11[61]
frg. 5	4	Material of community principles: how to turn together to the Torah and separate from wickedness	1QS 5:1–20
frgs. 7, 8, 9	5	Material from the *rabbim* sessions and penal code	1QS 6:10–13; 16–18; 7:7?[62]
frgs. 10, 11, 12	6–8	Material from the rules of the *maskil,* and *maskil's* prayer	1QS 9:18–22;[63] 10:3–7, 14–18; 11:22[64]

TABLE 2. PARALLELS IN 4QS[b] TO 1QS.

The most famous variant of 4QS[b] in comparison to 1QS is the notably shorter version of 1QS 5.[65] Here we will not discuss these shorter textual forms, but instead pay attention to the overall course of the contents of the manuscript. Even though this manuscript is often noted as preserving material at great length (in contrast to 4QS[d], which probably lacked a parallel to 1QS 1–4), the following table illustrates how 4QS[b] completely lacks parallels (in gray) to many central sections of 1QS; in other words, these sections have not been preserved in 4QS[b]:

[60] See n. 55 for the different fragment numbers in DJD.
[61] Schofield, *From Qumran to the Yahad*, appendix, also sees a parallel to line 1QS 2:6.
[62] Schofield, *From Qumran to the Yahad*, appendix, does not see a parallel to 1QS 7:7.
[63] Schofield, *From Qumran to the Yahad*, appendix, sees a parallel to 1QS 9:17–23.
[64] Here, if rightly placed, 4QS[b] contains more text after the parallel end of the hymn in 1QS 11:22. See Alexander and Vermes, DJD 26, 63.
[65] The shorter version of 1QS 5 is also found in the manuscript 4QS[d]. Because of this, the manuscripts 4QS[b,d] are often discussed together: they agree with each other against the longer version of 1QS. But it has to be noted that 4QS[b] and 4QS[d] are not identical with each other: most notably, 4QS[d] lacks the section parallel to 1QS 1–4 altogether.

4QS^{b} (4Q256) Metso	DJD	contents	parallels in 1QS
—		Divine principles in the movement: love what God loves and hate what God hates	Beginning (1QS 1:1–15)
frgs. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6	1–3	Material from the *covenant entry/renewal ceremony*	Covenant renewal ceremony (1QS 1:16–3:12) 1QS 1:16–19, 21–23; 2:4–5, 7–11
—		*Maskil's* teaching on the two spirits	Discourse on the two spirits (1QS 3:13–4:26)
frg. 5	4	Material of *community principles*: how to turn together to the Law and separate from wickedness	Community principles (1QS 5: 1–26) 1QS 5:1–20
—		Eating, praying, sharing counsel; groups of ten	Coming together (1QS 6:1–9)
frgs. 7, 8, 9	5	Material from the *rabbim sessions* and *penal code*	Behaviour in rabbim sessions & penal code (1QS 6:10–7:25) 1QS 6:10–13; 16–18; 7:7?
—		Organizational principles in the movement; unintentional and intentional sins; coming of Messiahs	Twelve men and three priests (1QS 8:1–9:11)
frgs. 10, 11, 12	6–8	Material from the *rules of the maskil,* and *maskil's prayer*	Rules for *maskil* (1QS 9:12–11:22) 1QS 9:18–22; 10:3–7, 14–18; 11:22

TABLE 3. COMPARISON BETWEEN 4QS^{b} AND 1QS.

There is no material evidence to suggest that these particular sections (in gray) belonged to 4QS^{b}. However, this does not mean that material from these sections of 1QS or some other material could not have existed in 4QS^{b}. Metso discusses especially the discourse on two spirits, of which there is no textual evidence in 4QS^{b}, but comes to the conclusion that its absence from the manuscript seems, *on material grounds,* "highly improbable." This is based on the preservation of margins in fragments

4 (= DJD frg. 3, par. to 1QS 2:7–11) and 5 (= DJD frg. 4, par. to 1QS 5:1–20) and marks of stitching in both: if these fragments came from separate sheets but these sheets were not directly connected, there must have been another sheet and more text between them.[66] Metso first reconstructs in the lost sheet a parallel to 1QS 2:23–3:12, which would take one column. Since one leather sheet most probably had several columns of text, this lost sheet would also have contained the discourse on two spirits.[67]

But the critical question is whether there is any compelling reason to assume that the lost text would have been the discourse on two spirits, rather than *something else*.[68] The comparison between the manuscripts rather gives reason to expect that each manuscript had *considerable* variation in the sections that they contained, and no extant manuscript has evidence of containing all the sections that 1QS contains.[69] Although it is by no means impossible that 4QS^{b} contained the discourse on the two spirits, we wish to remark that it also could have contained some other, now lost textual section. The only manuscripts, besides 1QS, to contain extant evidence of the discourse on two spirits are the manuscript 4QpapS^{a} and 4QSpap^{c}. The evidence in the first, 4QpapS^{a}, is very uncertain, and at the most, as stated by Alexander and Vermes in DJD, preserves a "different recension" of the two spirits dis-

[66] This is also supported by the fact that fragment 5 (= DJD frg. 4) has a mark in the upper right margin, a *gimel*, which indicates, according to the editors, that this was the third sheet, see Alexander and Vermes, DJD 26:41.

[67] Otherwise, the lost sheet would have contained one column only, which would have been odd (Metso, *The Textual Development*, 25).

[68] That the discourse on two spirits is a unique piece with its own independent origin does not rule out the possibility that it too was edited for the purposes of the S compiler. Hempel, "The Teaching on the Two Spirits and the Literary Development of the Rule of the Community," in *Dualism in Qumran* (ed. G. Xeravits; Library of Second Temple Studies 76; London: T&T Clark, 2010), 102–20, has recently investigated the links between the discourse on two spirits and the rest of 1QS and considers the possibility that the thematic links derive from the redactor or compiler of 1QS or even that the compiler of the discourse was also the compiler of 1QS.

[69] In Metso's (*The Textual Development*, 68) view, the manuscript 4QS^{b} "appears to be the only preserved copy of the *Community Rule* from Cave 4 containing all the major parts of the text of 1QS." However, if even 4QS^{b} does not contain all parts of 1QS, even though it perhaps has the widest distribution of sections across the sections of 1QS, there is no reason to assume that any manuscript would have looked like 1QS.

course.[70] The 4QSpap[c], on the other hand, has a clear parallel to 1QS 4:4–10,[71] but it has no parallels to other sections outside the sections of 1QS 1–4, which, in our mind, underlines the question whether or not the discourse on two spirits existed in 4QS[b]: clearly, this discourse could have been represented independently from 1QS 5–7 and even on its own.[72]

War Scroll

The maximalist principle clearly has had an influence on editing the 4QM manuscripts, and 1QM—the longest representative of the M tradition—continues to have an impact on editions. The exceptionally large number of editions shows the challenges in editing and classifying these texts. In the DJD edition of the 4QM texts from 1982,[73] Maurice Baillet aimed at joining the fragments whenever possible—and he often made the joins with the help of 1QM.[74] Furthermore, Baillet tended to reconstruct each manuscript as fully as possible, usually on the basis of 1QM.[75] This made it easy to observe the links between 1QM and the Cave 4 war texts—which probably was a conscious aim and also the kind of research result desired of the DJD volume.

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[70] Alexander and Vermes, DJD 26:37.

[71] Note also the additional words placed here, preserved in two fragments, 4Q502 16 and 4Q487 37, which, according to Tigchelaar, "'These are the Names of the Spirits of...' A Preliminary Edition of 4QCatalogue of Spirits (4Q230) and New Manuscript Evidence for the Two Spirits Treatise (4Q257 and 1Q29a)," *RevQ* 21 (2004): 529–47, should be placed as parts of this manuscript.

[72] Tigchelaar, "'These are the Names of the Spirits of...'," 543–45, further identifies the discourse on the two spirits in 1Q29 fragments 13–17, which he re-edits as manuscript 1Q29a. Also the manuscript 4Q230 contains similar material of the two ways (p. 530–38).

[73] Baillet, DJD 7: 12–72.

[74] Cf. e.g., connecting fragments 5 and 6 (see Baillet, DJD 7:20). The certainty of this connection has since been called into question; cf. e.g., Abegg, "The War Scroll," 51.

[75] George Brooke notes that in Baillet's edition, "it is often difficult to see what text is actually extant." See George J. Brooke, review of J. H. Charlesworth with J. M. Baumgartner et al., eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations. Vol. 2: Damascus Document, War Scroll, and Related Documents. JTS* 48 (1997): 576–79.

Martin Abegg (1993) was the first to challenge Baillet's views.[76] Abegg preferred to treat the fragments separately and did not accept all Baillet's joins.[77] However, in his readings of the fragments, Abegg followed mainly Baillet and made large reconstructions based on 1QM, mostly similar to Baillet. Abegg's interest was focused primarily on the links between 1QM and 4QM manuscripts, as is shown by the inclusion of an edition of 1QM at the end of his dissertation, in which coincident passages with the Cave 4 war texts are marked.

Jean Duhaime's edition (1995)[78] differed from the two previous ones by refraining from large reconstructions.[79] However, in the arrangement of the fragments and in his readings, Duhaime followed mainly Baillet.[80] Concerning the much-discussed manuscript 4Q491, Duhaime later introduced Abegg's theory of dividing it into three different manuscripts and considers it plausible.[81] According to Abegg, the fragments of manuscript 4Q491 should be arranged into three different manuscripts, 4Q491a, 4Q491b and 4Q491c.[82] In this article, we take our examples from the manuscript 4Q491b, especially its fragments 1–3, but our main argument does not depend on the theory of this division.

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[76] Abegg, "The War Scroll," 211, states that his edition is indebted to Sukenik's, Carmignac's and Yadin's earlier works.

[77] Cf. e.g., 4Q491 fragments 14 and 15. About the theory of 4Q491a, b, and c, see n. 46.

[78] Jean Duhaime, "War Scroll (1QM, 1Q33); Cave IV Fragments (4QM1–6 = 4Q491–496); War Scroll-Like Fragment (4Q497)" in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations, Vol. 2* (ed. James H. Charlesworth with J. M. Baumgarten et al.; The Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1995), 80–203. Duhaime's work was edited by James H. Charlesworth and Brent A. Strawn, who wrote part of the comments in the footnotes. The comments concern mostly the similarities between the 4QM texts and 1QM.

[79] As Brooke, Review, 576–79, notes, Duhaime's edition "enables one to see easily more or less what the original fragment looks like."

[80] As did also Florentino García Martínez and Eibert Tigchelaar, who published their *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Study Edition* (1997–1998) almost concurrently with Duhaime. The revised paperback edition was published in 2000. As regards the 4QM texts, see García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* 2:640–43, 950–53, 970–91.

[81] Duhaime, The War Texts: 1QM and related fragments, 24–30.

[82] Abegg, "The War Scroll," 4–9. The manuscript 4Q491b includes fragments 1–7, 16–17, 19–21, 23 of 4Q491 in this theory. On the arguments and discussion of this theory, see n. 46.

The most recent editions of 4QM manuscripts demonstrate well two very different approaches to manuscript editing. Rony Ishay (2006) is a cautious editor: her main aim is to provide the reader a reliable reading of the letters in view, and she avoids large reconstructions.[83] As regards 4Q491, the most controversial of the 4QM texts, Ishay does not follow either Baillet's order or Abegg's division: she creates her own arrangement of the fragments, and further separates individual fragments from one another.[84] She shows an interest in treating each fragment independently, even though her separations can be criticized. However, she does not abandon Baillet's idea of the fragments of 4Q491 belonging to one manuscript—she only states that the fragments "do not yield a coherent running text."[85]

Elisha Qimron (2010), on the other hand, aims at reading all the war texts together and placing the text of the 4QM manuscripts as part of the running text of 1QM.[86] For example, 4Q493 is situated between columns 7 and 8. When any textual form of a 4QM manuscript is identical with 1QM, the transcribed text is coloured, whereas the text that is only found in 1QM is black. Thus, the manuscript 4Q491 is shown to exist in columns 12, 14, 16 of 1QM, and is further situated between columns 6 and 7, 15 and 16, 16 and 17, 18 and 19 of 1QM, and at the end of the scroll. This way of editing has a great impact on readings: in Qimron's edition, 1QM most clearly directs the reading of 4QM manuscripts. Qimron's edition shows that using the Cave 1 manuscript as a basis for editing the Cave 4 manuscripts is not a passing phenomenon.[87]

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[83] Rony Ishay, "The Literature of War at Qumran: Manuscripts 4Q491–4Q496 (edition and commentary) and their comparison to War Scroll (1QM)" (PhD diss., University of Haifa, 2006). In comparison to other editions, it is difficult that Ishay does not make a distinction between certain, probable and possible letters but marks only identified or unidentified letters. If a letter is not clearly visible, she usually marks it as an unidentified letter. The work is an unpublished dissertation in Hebrew, so our access to it is limited.

[84] See Ishay, "The Literature of War at Qumran," English abstract.

[85] Ibid.

[86] Elisha Qimron מגילות מדבר יהודה: החיבורים העבריים, כרך ראשון (The Dead Sea Scrolls: The Hebrew Writings, Vol. 1; Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi Press, 2010) (in Hebrew).

[87] Tigchelaar, "Proposals for the Critical Editing," notes that Qimron's editions are not intended to be critical editions at all but to present composite texts in an economical form. Overlaps are easily seen in this type of edition but the user cannot assess the distinct manuscript features and variants. Ariel Feldman, for his part, notes that there is a significant differ-

The critical question raised in the previous discussion on the S-material—namely whether there are reasons to suppose that those parts of the Cave 1 text that have not been preserved in Cave 4 texts would have existed there—is worth asking also in the case of the M-material.

Principles of Explaining the Nature of Differences between Manuscripts

The above-discussed principles of categorizing manuscripts (which manuscripts represent the same literary work or rule collection) and the principles of editing fragments, manuscripts, and works have to be solved before scholars can actually compare different versions of the same work and benefit from the knowledge about scribal practices to be drawn from this evidence. In this section, we will take a closer look at proposed explanations offered about the relationship between our selected Cave 4 examples and their Cave 1 parallels. Whereas the traditional questions have concerned the direction of dependency—in the cases where direct literary dependency is likely and parallels can be closely compared—scholars have also considered issues of the function of various types of manuscripts (e.g., small script: private usage) and the dating of the manuscript (earlier script: earlier version, later script: later version) to determine the relationship between different manuscripts. Other physical factors, such as the place of writing and access to resources and education, have also entered the discussion. Here too, it plays a significant role what the individual manuscripts are perceived to be.

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ence between Qimron and Yadin's assessment of the number of lines of 1QM: according to Yadin, there were some 20 lines per column, whereas Qimron argues that the number of the lines was some 30. In addition, Feldman also notes Qimron's suggestion that—as Feldman puts it—"the 4QWar materials that have no parallel in 1QM may be accommodated in those additional lines." Feldman does not directly accept this idea but writes: "It remains to be seen whether this proposal, as well as the entire concept of using a composite edition strategy for the texts that bear marks of inner literary development, will gain scholarly support." See Feldman, "Review of *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Hebrew Writings*. Vol. 1," in *JSS* 58 (2013): 201–2.

4QS: 4Q256 (4QS^{b})

The case of our 4QS^{b} example was already introduced above (see tables 2 and 3). According to the DJD editors, 4QS^{b} represents "a different recension of S from 1QS," even though it may have been similar to 1QS in length.[88] They further explain that these recensional differences were major in the middle part (i.e., in the parallel to 1QS 5:1–9:11: community organization and penal code) but less significant at the beginning and end of the scroll. The editors identified the manuscript as belonging to "Recension B" as opposed to "Recension A" of 1QS, but refrained from taking any further stance as to the relationship or order between the recensions.[89]

On the other hand, scholars have not been satisfied with the mere descriptive approach but attempted to find out which variants represent more original versions. In the 1990s, there emerged two major explanations for the order between 1QS and 4QS^{b}. Some relied on the paleographical manuscript age to determine the earlier version (thus 1QS),[90] whereas others followed the principle that shorter forms represent earlier forms (thus 4QS^{b}).[91] Thus the shorter 4QS^{b} either was an abbreviated form from the longer form, or it was a late copy of an earlier, now lost but more original textual form.

According to Metso's well-known theory, the (hypothetical) original short form of S was split, at an early stage, into two different lines of textual growth, of which 4QS^{e} represents one and 4QS^{b,d} the other, and later 1QS combined (and modified) both these lines.[92] Built into this theory are the following assumptions concerning 4QS^{b}: 4QS^{b} is not directly dependent on 1QS but on a shorter form of S. If the second

[88] Alexander and Vermes, DJD 26:10–11, 46.
[89] Alexander and Vermes, DJD 26:12.
[90] Philip S. Alexander, "The Redaction-History of Serekh ha-Yahad: A Proposal," *RevQ* 17 (1996): 437–56; Dimant, "The Composite Character of the Qumran Sectarian Literature."
[91] Vermes, "Preliminary Remarks," 250–55; Metso, *The Textual Development*, 68; see more scholars' views in Metso, *The Serekh Texts*, 17–19. Note that the DJD editors, Alexander and Vermes, thus differ in their views, which could be the reason for their not stating much on the matter in the DJD Volume.
[92] Metso, *The Textual Development*, 146–47.

copyist's corrections and additions to 1QS are ignored, a direct dependency in the other direction can be assumed: 1QS was dependent on the textual form of 4QS^{b} or a text very similar to it.

However, it has to be noted that this type of theory only explains the relationship between manuscripts that are already assigned to the S category. Thus, for example, a manuscript like 5Q13 (see above) is not part of the scheme, or its parallel to S is noted as being a quotation from S—that is, being dependent on S manuscripts rather than the other way around (or both are seen as sharing a common source).[93] Furthermore, the fact that 1QSa and 1QSb are in fact part of the final S recension in the 1QS manuscript is largely ignored in the theory. And lastly, to be precise, the model of textual growth is shown *not* to be an absolute rule in the theory, since 1QS, if it was dependent on a textual form represented in 4QS^{b}, does not follow it fully: it does not contain the material that continued after the final line of 1QS (11:22), and there are also other minor pluses in 4QS^{b} that are not part of 1QS.[94]

This last aspect, assumed linear evolution of textual growth and direct dependency, has been noted especially by Alison Schofield, who sees the situation as more complicated than previously suggested.[95] Even if Metso's (rather than Alexander's) theory explains the most significant

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[93] Cf. Metso, *The Serekh Texts*, 61.

[94] E.g., 4QS^{b} 9:8 contains the additional prohibition of outsiders and insiders eating together ("he shall not eat with him"), after another prohibition, probably (if similar to 4QS^{d}) forbidding the men of injustice to touch the purity of the men of holiness. The prohibition against eating is not transmitted in the parallel sentence in 1QS (5:13). See Schofield, *From Qumran to the Yahad*, 101. Instead, however, 1QS 5:16 does contain the prohibition for the *men of the yahad* to eat "from their possessions" (in 4QS^{b}, this is also reconstructed on the basis of 4QS^{d}, but it is addressed to the *men of holiness*). It seems that 4QS^{b} preserves the prohibition in both directions: outsiders (men of injustice) may not eat with men of holiness and men of holiness may not eat with outsiders.

[95] Schofield, *From Qumran to the Yahad*. Similarly, but from different direction, Charlotte Hempel, "The Literary Development of the S Tradition – A New Paradigm," *RevQ* 22 (2006): 389–401, seeks to acknowledge more complexity in understanding the development of S traditions, see further below. However, two important research questions should not be confused: what can be said about the relation of the *existing* manuscript compositions with each other (the main focus in Metso's study and now also Schofield), and what can be said, on the basis of existing manuscript evidence—including the internal evidence (literary critical factors) within one manuscript—of the complex textual history of the composition or compositions (main focus in Hempel's approach).

differences, as Schofield holds, it is not yet a fully satisfactory model. In Schofield's view, 4QS^{b} includes variants that most likely represent earlier readings in comparison to 1QS, but also variants that most likely did not simply function as a *Vorlage* to a textual form of 1QS or that are "ambiguous," not bending towards direct dependency in either direction. She characterizes the manuscripts as having gone through semi-independent development (in other words, 4QS^{b} also represents changes or forms that have neither influenced nor even been known to the scribes of 1QS). To explain these circumstances, Schofield draws from social anthropological research by Robert Redfield on the relation between codified religious traditions and local communities in the periphery: local communities always exemplify variation but, at the same time, some form of dialogue and connection with the centre exists. The centre, in this case, is both the Jerusalem establishment and, at a lower level, the hierarchy in the movement, possible at a later stage at Qumran.[96] The earlier traditions radiated "outwards" from Jerusalem, and 1QS is tentatively suggested to be "the official Qumran copy."[97]

Schofield's theory is worth considering, although some of its details can be contested.[98] The search for new models can be applauded but the risk in the centre-periphery model is that it requires too much independence between the communities that produced the existing plurality. What we rather see is that there was also great stability in that certain traditions were shared. Hempel seems to have similar reservations

[96] Schofield, *From Qumran to the Yahad*, 49–51, 275. A similar kind of situation of textual plurality and variation is of course often attested in "biblical" textual witnesses (i.e., versions are not simply daughter versions of another but also testify to further changes, some earlier readings, and later revisions according to the other versions). Schofield outlines how her theory differs from the theory of "local texts" concerning biblical witnesses (60–62), but does not explain whether the radial-dialogic model has anything to offer to explaining variation among the biblical witnesses.

[97] Schofield, *From Qumran to the Yahad*, 130, 273.

[98] Some of Schofield's cases of textual variants (*From Qumran to the Yahad*, 92–103) where she sees ambiguity or evidence that 4QS^{b,d} readings are secondary in comparison to 1QS can equally or even more likely be explained by assuming that the scribe of 1QS added something or revised the reading to suit his needs, e.g., the cases 1QS 5:5, 6–7, 23; 6:2; 8:26, and their parallels; see Schofield, *From Qumran to the Yahad*, 92–94, 98–99, 103. These cases are not easy to judge in either direction, but at least question marks should be added to the presentation of the variants and their "secondary" nature in the table on p. 127.

about Schofield's model: "There is no need to assume that various copies of the Serekh reflect distinctive practices and geographical provenances rather than a fluid textual tradition not unlike the textual fluidity of the emerging scriptures."[99]

Hempel herself has approached the issue from another perspective, remarking the great internal diversity and even contradictions *within* an individual S manuscript. She proposes that "the quest for the earliest form of the text of the Rule is best identified in the common material shared by the manuscripts rather than in the earlier of two variants where the manuscripts diverge."[100] In other words, comparing the variants between the S manuscripts does not bring us very far back to the earliest forms of the text; instead, the significance of the material that "sticks" and stays the same in different manuscripts, despite the new material and terminology that is being brought in around it, can be far greater in understanding the development of the traditions.

When we start to think with along these lines and with new analogies, new models for thinking emerge. Starting from the fact that none of the existing S manuscripts is exactly identical with another S manuscript, it can be argued that scribes who preserved known material always also created new material or combined and modified known material in creative ways—as in the digital age when information is being updated. The scribes may have preserved known material in very much the way in which scholars now refer to earlier scholarship on the theme. Known material was there for the sake of continuity and familiarity, for setting the stage for discussion, and for preserving information.[101] The changes these scribes made or the additions they attached were their

[99] Hempel, *The Qumran Rule Texts in Context*, 337.
[100] Hempel, "Pluralism and Authoritativeness," 200.
[101] But there is a difference in that the modern academic conventions have the need to provide authenticity for and give credit to earlier scholars. Van der Toorn (*Scribal Culture and the Making of the Hebrew Bible*, 16) suggests another analogy: "biblical" books compare to *archives*, where heterogeneous material is brought together. Similarly, rule texts are argued by Sarianna Metso, "Methodological Problems in Reconstructing History from Rule Texts Found at Qumran," *DSD* 11 (2004): 315–35, to be reservoirs of communal decisions, rather than prescriptive rule collections. Note, however, that the perspective here is not only on the function of *writing down* rules, but also on the function of *preserving* certain rules in various manuscripts.

(personal) mark on the issue, driven by any set of socio-religious or practical concerns or constraints, and probably also taking place whenever there was the need to preserve a deteriorating manuscript or distribute an existing manuscript. The fact that they, for example, preserved material about the community principles (section in parallel to 1QS 5: turning to the Torah and separating from wickedness) in several manuscripts (4QS^{b,d,g}; 1QS) may well be explained by the fact that this type of material serves as prototypical concerning the "rule" of belonging: anyone having heard it, would recognize the types of issues expected to be discussed in that scroll. On the other hand, in this way, new ideas could actually be effectively learned, taught and distributed: they were not loose pieces of information but were twists in the earlier and familiar knowledge or new combinations of pieces of information.[102]

To think of the text of our 4QS^{b} example in this way, it may represent one of the first combinations of material from the covenant renewal ceremony, of communal principles, and of the final psalm (but possibly not yet, e.g., the discourse on two spirits), thus giving a liturgical framework to the whole work, with both collective and individual voices present (and this combination was then built upon and further expanded in forms such as the 1QS manuscript). But it is also significant that the *manuscript* 4QS^{b} is written later than 1QS. Perhaps the "twist," that is, the personal contribution of the scribe in transmitting this particular tradition, was to be found in something that has not been preserved to us and can no longer be identified. The work built upon familiar knowledge, and it could even use the short form of this knowledge to save space[103] in order to present some new idea—perhaps

[102] Schofield, *From Qumran to the Yahad*, 63, speaks here of the fluid line between an author and copyist: there is a dialogue in the process of "authoring (and redacting) a text and transmitting it."

[103] Thus, three options are conceivable in relation to longer textual form such as 1QS: the scribe of 4QS^{b} had a shorter *Vorlage,* or the scribe abbreviated a longer form, or a combination of these. In our view, the order of the emergence of the textual forms of S is most probably from shorter to longer (as argued by Metso, see above and n. 92) but that does not mean that scribes could not be sufficiently skilled to edit texts into more condensed forms if they needed to. Some of the scribal additions in 1QS are often complicating the sentences and the

at the end of the scroll, which is now lost, or by placing the *maskil* title in the central familiar section.[104]

This way of thinking can also be applied to M. The most significant differences between 4Q491(a and b) and 1QM are in the so-called encouragement speeches. The narrative parts of the texts are often alike but the speeches are fluid. It seems that the speeches offer a place for new literary activity and creativity while the narrative parts serve for continuity and familiarity.

Or to think of another, digital model, one manuscript may have represented a "search result" for one type of search of information and the other to another type of "search." In the following we shall study 4Q491b, where the purity concerns are in two places in the preparations for the war, whereas in 1QM, the purity concerns are collected together. Neither end result may be considered as necessarily superior to the other (even though one may be older than the other); they may just organize the information differently.[105] Which line of tradition then survives and is distributed more widely may rely on purely external factors and by chance but sometimes also on the accessibility of the knowledge: one is easier to use than the other, for example.

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text often runs more smoothly without them. One may imagine a scribe would leave precisely such additions out if a shorter form was needed. However, here we have to allow for more variety in manuscript forms: it is *quite unlikely* that each case where 4QS^{b} is shorter than 1QS, 4QS^{b} would have been shortened from exactly the form present in 1QS. Some cases are easier to imagine in this way (e.g., biblical quotations) whereas others are more difficult (e.g., some individual words).

[104] Thus, the focus of 4QS^{b} can be seen to be in the teaching and liturgical duties of the *maskil*—or in telling what the duties of the *maskil* are portrayed to be. Cf. the discussion on the *maskil* by Schofield, *From Qumran to the Yahad*, 154–55. Schofield also (p. 101) considers the possibility that the prohibition against eating with the men of injustice in 4QS^{b} (see note 94 above) is explained by a setting outside Qumran, in which intermingling with outsiders needed more careful attention However, this presumes that a Qumranic setting would have been isolated or that outsiders would not have been as easy to keep outside in an extra-Qumranic setting as at Qumran.

[105] Cf. Van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture and the Making of the Hebrew Bible*, 47: "To them [the ancients], an author does not invent his text but merely arranges it; the content of a text exists first, before laid down in writing."

4QM: 4Q491b

Scholars have not shown as keen an interest in explaining the textual history of M as in explaining the textual history of S, probably because of the nature of their contents.[106] But the situation is also not quite similar at the manuscript level between S and M; for example, 4QM parallels do not have as clearly shorter forms, from a later period, in comparison to 1QM as 4QS manuscripts have in comparison to 1QS. When there are differences, these are mostly explained assuming a rolling corpus idea, resulting in growth in 1QM. No one has suggested that differences between 4QM and 1QM would require a model like the centre-periphery model by Schofield. The 4QM manuscripts are mostly read as providing comparative material to 1QM and seldom on their own. We wish to demonstrate how 4Q491b as an individual manuscript differs greatly from any other manuscript—it contains material in different order and material not found anywhere else, and it lacks material from 1QM (see Table 1 above)—and yet it makes sense as it stands. Also, we discuss the various models scholars have for explaining the differences between 4Q491b and 1QM: 4Q491b is a good example since its relationship to 1QM is widely discussed without any comprehensive conclusion.

As shown in Table 1, the structure of fragments 1–3 of 4Q491b can be divided into three parts: hymn, preparation for war, and battle. First, the hymn emphasizes that human beings are not alone in the war: God and his angels are involved in the battle (lines 1–5).[107] The hymn is followed by the "rule to observe in their encampments" (line 6),

[106] E.g., S is thought to represent life in the real communities whereas M is somewhat utopian. On the other hand, there are also a considerable number of editions of the war texts. There is still work to do with the basic questions concerning the war manuscripts, and that too is one reason for the textual history of M not being as thoroughly investigated as that of S.

[107] The genre of lines 1–5 is unclear but we tentatively suggest it to be a hymn. These lines seem to be related to the victorious end of the war (see line 4). In order to explain the inconsistency that the end of the war is described before the phases of the war (lines 6–20), it is reasonable to take lines 1–5 as part of a hymn rather than the narrative. Many elements in these lines recall the encouragement speeches or hymns in 1QM (cf. e.g., line 3a and 1QM 17:6; line 3b and 1QM 12:9).

which describes the preparations for the war. This second part includes restrictions for those entering the war: no women or children or unclean men can go to the battle (line 6b). The craftsmen and the smelters are mentioned but, because of the fragmentary condition of the text, their position in the war remains unclear (line 7a). Furthermore, there are purity regulations: distance of the latrine from the camp,[108] and prohibition against nakedness (lines 7b–8a). When preparing for the battle, some men are separated for the daily duty (line 8b), and marching out to the house of meeting is part of the preparations (lines 9). After the *vacat* in line 9, the text moves on to discuss the purity rules on the battlefield: any man unclean because of his seminal emission is excluded (line 10a).[109] The reason for this is given: the angels are present in the battle (line 10b).

From line 11 onwards—and this is the third part of the text—the actual battle is described. The war is to proceed by marching out in turns to the battle (lines 11–12a). In addition to the direct attack, an ambush is a possible part of the tactics (line 12b). The war is directed by means of trumpet sounds (line 13), which serve as signals for both the attackers and those who lie in ambush. Lines 14–17a describe the movements and gathering of the troops, both marching out and withdrawing.

At the end of the preserved text, the war garments (probably those of the priests) are discussed (line 18). After that, it seems that something new starts. This new section, however, probably continues to discuss rules for encampments since it begins with the words כבול הסרך, and mentions commanders of the camps (line 19).

The presence of quite a large amount of text that does not occur in 1QM shows clearly that, as a whole, 4Q491b fragments 1–3 cannot be defined as being dependent on one certain 1QM passage. Those passag-

[108] This is a suggestion made on the basis of 1QM 7:6b–7 which is very strongly reminiscent of lines 7b–8a of 4Q491b. However, in theory, it is possible that the distance of two thousand cubits is between some other destinations.

[109] The text here is fragmentary but the invoking of the presence of angels and the mentioning of "night" gives us reason to suppose that the text discusses here the uncleanliness caused by seminal emission. Cf. 1QM 7:6; Deut 23:11–15.

es that have similarities to 1QM are not exactly like it or in the same order (cf. 4Q491b lines 6–8, 10 and 1QM 7:3–7). Most notably, 1QM collects the rules about excluded persons (including the man with seminal emission) together and *only then* gives the rationale of angels being present, and the rule about the latrine and nakedness. In DJD, Baillet suggests the option that 4Q491 could be a collection of extracts or a summary with inserts, intended for "personal meditation."[110] Thus, the differences between 1QM and 4Q491 are explained by different purposes of use: while 1QM was a communal scroll, 4Q491 was a private manuscript. Baillet argues for this difference by noting that, in 4Q491, the lines are very tight and the script is especially small.[111] However, he leaves open the question of the motivation behind the changes: for example, why would there be a need to reduce the number of battle lines for a private manuscript? The material facts are undoubtedly something that should be taken into account when discussing the relationship between the texts—they have not received much attention in the discussion since Baillet.[112]

Later scholars have devoted their time to explaining the possible literary interdependence between 4Q491b and 1QM. As Abegg puts it, scholars have mostly seen three options for explaining the similarities between texts: first, 4Q491b is a summary of 1QM; second, 1QM is an expansion of 4Q491b; and third, there is a common source or common tradition behind these texts.[113] However, Abegg himself does not state his own opinion. Duhaime, for his part, concludes that fragments 1–3

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[110] Baillet, DJD 7:12.

[111] Ibid. Cf. above on the possibility of 4QpapS^{a} being a personal copy, n. 32.

[112] George J. Brooke, "Between Scroll and Codex? Reconsidering the Qumran Opisthographs," in *On Stone and Scrolls: Essays in Honour of Graham Ivor Davies* (ed. J. K. Aitken et al.; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011), 123–38, discusses the meaning of opisthographs and the likelihood of their being created for personal use. This is relevant for the study of M and S texts, as there are opisthographs among them as well (4Q496; 4Q497; 4Q255, possibly 4Q257).

[113] Abegg, "The War Scroll," 36. Abegg notes that the last-mentioned option is also pondered by Duhaime—and, actually, Duhaime ends up considering that, in this case, it is most probable that two different redactors had independently used the same source texts (see Jean Duhaime, "Étude comparative de 4QM^{a} frg. 1–3 et 1QM," *RevQ* 14 [1991]: 459–72, 471. See also Duhaime's introduction to the war texts in Charlesworth's series, "War Scroll," 142.

of 4Q491b are all in all a briefer text than 1QM, and, while 1QM is quite an elaborated text which has a tendency to generalize the application of the rules, especially concerning purity, fragments 1–3 represent a more practical point of view. Also, according to him, in 1QM, the "biblical" sources are utilized more. Duhaime seems to agree with the commonly occurring idea that texts tended to expand (rather than be shortened), and if we judge him correctly,[114] his presupposition is that the briefer text is earlier than the longer one and that later texts are more probably spiced with "biblical" citations.[115] However, he does not argue that fragments 1–3 and 1QM are directly dependent on each other but emphasizes that his explanation is also valid if the editors behind the texts have *independently* used a common source and considers this in many cases a probable option.[116]

The theory of a common source has later received endorsement—for example, Ishay tends to consider it as a relevant option. Ishay, like many others, takes note of the fact that both 1QM 7 and 4Q491 1 include a list of regulations concerning the encampment but that these lists differ in length, style, running order and in some respects in content as well. In her interpretation of the complete manuscript 4Q491, she aligns herself with Duhaime's thoughts, arguing that 4Q491 and 1QM are two different re-workings of common source material that consisted of war descriptions and a thanksgiving hymn. In addition, she thinks that, at the same time, some "sporadic theological reworking of the parallel sections" was done.[117] Ultimately, however, according to Ishay, "it is impossible to determine whether one version depends on the other or the two elaborate a common source."[118] Thus, just as Duhaime finally does, she also leaves it open whether the texts are using a common source or whether they are dependent on each other.

Brian Schultz, whose study *Conquering the World: The War Scroll (1QM) Reconsidered* is one of the most recent contributions to the war

[114] Duhaime, "Étude comparative de 4QM[a] fgg. 1–3 et 1QM," 471.
[115] Similarly to what has been argued of 1QS and S texts from Cave 4, see above and n. 92.
[116] See, e.g., Duhaime, "Étude comparative de 4QM[a] fgg. 1–3 et 1QM," 469, 472.
[117] Ishay, "The Literature of War at Qumran," English abstract.
[118] Ibid.

texts, discusses the 4QM texts in light of his understanding of the contents of 1QM, namely that this text describes a two-phase war. The first phase is "the war against the Kittim" and it is described in columns 1 and 15–19. The second phase, "the War of the Divisions," is described in columns 2–9. In addition, Schultz argues that some version of columns 1–9 of 1QM was a primitive form of the composition now known as 1QM and columns 10–19 were added to it later. Schultz places 4QM texts into the theoretical framework of the two-phase war: he argues that manuscripts 4Q491a, 4Q492, 4Q494 and 4Q495 represent "the War against the Kittim," whereas manuscripts 4Q471 and 4Q493 and 4Q491b represent "the War of the Divisions." The manuscript 4Q496—as well as 1QM 1–2—preserves the transition between the phases.[119] As regards the relationship between 4Q491, fragments 1–3 and 1QM, Schultz (referring, for example, to Duhaime and Ishay) agrees with previous scholars that the authors of 4Q491 and 1QM used a common source, and that of these two, 4Q491 was composed earlier.[120]

Naturally, any theory should be able to explain the differences in contents between 4Q491b and 1QM. The camp gets surprisingly little attention in 1QM whereas it is one of the main themes in 4Q491b.[121] In 4Q491b the camp gets its own rubric (see lines 6–10), whereas in 1QM the purity of the camp is discussed in connection with the requirements for the soldiers (see 7:3–7). Johanna Dorman suggests that in 4Q491 there is a disconnect between the war camp and the battlefield: the requirements presented in 4Q491 lines 6–7a concern those who enter into the war camp (no women, children, afflicted men, nor possibly physically disabled), and the stricter requirements in line 10b concern those who participate in the actual battle (no men who are unclean by their seminal emission). The angels are clearly present in the

[119] Schultz, *Conquering the World*, 401.
[120] Ibid., 374, 382–83.
[121] The verb חנה, which is used in the rubric in line 6 of 4Q491b (וזה הסרך בחנותמה), occurs in 1QM only twice, and the noun מחנה occurs only once in columns 3–9 (6:10; the other two occurrences are in 14:2 and 19:9).

battle.[122] Instead, in 1QM, when the similar requirements are presented, the camp and the battlefield are not clearly separated as in 4Q491b. Therefore, in 1QM there was no hindrance from moving the regulation of the latrine and its distance from the camp to the end of the list of excluded persons and after mentioning angels (see 1QM 7:6–7). Consequently, the angels are thus potentially understood in 1QM to be present both on the battlefield and in the camps, whereas in 4Q491 the angels are on the battlefield only.

Following Dorman's lead, it could be argued that, in 1QM, the idea of the presence of angels is widened, which is in line with the fact that 1QM lacks the notion (present in 4Q491b line 9b) of soldiers going to the house of meeting before going to the battlefield. In 1QM, the whole camp served as the tent of meeting and the presence of angels was not limited to the battlefield only. However, 1QM still recognizes that purity *on the day* of the battle is important (7:6, excluding a man with emission), followed by the mention of the angels. Thus it can be asked whether the lack of clearly distinguishing between the camp and the battlefield is intended in 1QM, or rather follows from the different organization of the information.

As regards the first lines of 4Q491b, they can be interpreted as hymnic material, including ideas like the hand of God will smite and there will be eternal destruction, atonement will be executed, and everlasting joy will prevail—similar ideas that in 1QM occur in hymn passages, often considered to be late parts of the compilation (see, e.g., 1QM 1:4–9, 14–15; 13:12b–16). Although it is difficult to compare the fragmentary hymn sections of 4Q491b to 1QM in detail, it is clear that in 1QM the hymn sections are large and in 4Q491b the hymn elements are much shorter. This leads to the impression that in 1QM the hymn elements were compiled together and/or the hymn parts were expanded.

All in all, scholars consider it difficult to suppose that there is a direct literary dependence between the two M manuscripts, 4Q491b and

[122] Johanna Dorman, "The Blemished Body: Deformity and Disability in the Qumran Scrolls" (PhD diss., Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, 2007), 171–72.

1QM. The most common model to explain the relationship between these texts is that they are reworkings of a common tradition—although many scholars do not rule out the option of mutual dependence either.[123] What can be concluded from all this is that *if a similar source was a basis for both 4Q491b and 1QM, it was possible to process this source very freely and creatively*. On the other hand, this is also true if the texts are interpreted to have a mutual literary dependence on one another—and this is something that actually challenges the theory of a common source: *if it was possible to make noteworthy changes in the source, would it not be probable to think that one of the texts was the source for the other*? In our view, 1QM is more likely to rewrite 4Q491b, since it has a general tendency to organize material in lists and collections. We noted at the beginning that manuscript differences could be viewed as organizing information differently. There may also be theological implications involved in such organization (such as in 1QM, the presence of angels also in the camp) but some of those implications might also result from the rewriting.

Conclusions

What new information and evidence can the Qumran rule texts provide to biblical scholars? Qumran manuscripts provide first-hand evidence of textual variation, as well as of physical manuscript variation. This evidence is valuable and needs to be fully appreciated in all its scope in order to learn about scribal practices and textual pluriformity in the

[123] Duhaime considers both options: when discussing lines 11–12b of fragments 1–3 of 4Q491b and 1QM 5:16–17, he speculates that if the author of 1QM worked with the text of fragments 1–3 in front of him, he clearly changed and extended his source in his own text. On the other hand, if the author of fragments 1–3 worked with the text of 1QM, it has to be concluded that he summarized his source and reduced the number of lines from seven to three—and according to Duhaime, without any apparent reason. In the end, Duhaime introduces an explanation which he considers to be the simplest: authors of these two texts had a common source or a common tradition with which they worked independently and towards which they adopt different attitudes (Duhaime, "Étude comparative de 4QM[a] frg. 1–3 et 1QM," 468–69, 471).

ancient world and in the Qumran movement in particular. We have argued above that there exist at least three sets of principles that are in play in any study of the Qumran rule texts: (1) principles of labelling manuscripts, (2) principles of editing fragmentary manuscripts, and (3) principles of comparing manuscripts with one another. While these principles are often implicit, practical (not theoretically oriented or models for other work), or provisional (not final or the only alternatives), they nevertheless influence the way in which scholars become accustomed not only to speaking about *serakhim*, but also to perceiving them. Therefore, critical remarks are necessary at every step, and a meta-perspective into our scholarly work might help us in asking if the models we think with are the best available. Furthermore, bringing the scholarship on two rules texts, the *Community Rule* (S) and the *War Scroll* (M), into dialogue with each other is beneficial for recognizing some of the differences in principles and for evaluating the potential benefit of scholarship in the field of the one to the other.

We wished to have shown first of all, that (1) what is "S" and what is "M" is by no means clear if we look at the existing manuscript evidence. Some manuscripts with clear parallels to 1QS are labelled by editors and scholars as S manuscripts even though they also have material not paralleled by 1QS (such as 4QpapS^{a}, 4QS^{h}). At the same time, some other manuscripts, such as 5Q13, are not deemed to be S, presumably because they have too little parallel material. But what amount is sufficient? Or what types of parallels are the critical elements? Similarly, as regards M, a single fragment, 4Q493, which includes material very similar to 1QM 7–9, 16, 18 but nothing directly parallel to it, is labelled as M. Things that mark one manuscript as M (such as 4Q491b) and another not (such as 4Q285) are not at all as clear as one could expect. Furthermore, the principles between S and M seem to differ: a manuscript like 4Q491 (even if one follows the division of the fragments into three manuscripts: 4Q491a, 4Q491b, 4Q491c) contains so many unparalleled sections in comparison to other M manuscripts and elements in different order, that it is difficult to imagine that such an extent and nature of differences would have been allowed among the S manuscripts.

(2) Second, there is clear tendency to regard the 1Q versions as primary and more important manuscripts. The 4Q manuscript editions are often explicitly and openly dependent on 1Q versions in ordering 4Q fragments and reconstructing their lacunae. The manuscript 4QS^{b} is often presented as the closest to 1QS in length and scope as it preserves parallels to most sections of 1QS, and the fact that it does not include a parallel to the discourse on the two spirits is not given much weight, or the discourse is presumed to have existed there. Also, the possibility that 4QS^{b} contained material after the hymn parallel to 1QS 11:22 is significant if the argument is that 1QS was the "fullest" or most developed and complete version, but this is often dismissed. *None of the S manuscripts is identical with another S manuscript,* which should very much caution us from presuming that we know what the missing parts of any manuscript contained. The same is true with the M texts*: none of the M manuscripts is exactly identical with another M manuscript,* but 1QM has often been used as the model to lead the reconstruction of 4QM manuscripts.

(3) Third, manuscript variants have been studied in order to determine the most original textual form or the direction of dependency between two or more versions, and, at the same time, to observe and recognize the meaning of manuscript variation. As regards S, there exists a division between scholars who take the shorter S versions as representative of earlier textual forms and scholars who take them as representative of later textual forms (abbreviations) since their manuscript age testifies to a later origin. New critical remarks have also been pronounced on whether it is possible to see the direction of dependence always from 4QS textual forms to the textual form of 1QS. It seems that it is not, which complicates the picture. As regards M, there is indecision and caution in saying anything firm about the 4QM versions in relation to 1QM. Some (often the most fragmentary) of the 4QM versions are deemed to belong to the same recension as 1QM and others to a different recension, even though the relation between the recensions is not explained. The 4QM versions are most often considered as building blocks in 1QM, and their unique nature is often dismissed.

Are there any solutions to these observations and critical perspectives? Here we wish to hint at at least a few. (1) As soon as scholars title

something as "S" or "M" there is an understandable tendency to view the manuscript so titled on the basis of the only extant almost complete manuscript, 1QS/1QM—but even those models are used selectively (e.g., 1QSa and 1QSb are normally not part of the model of S). In theory, labelling all manuscripts as "1QS/1QM-like manuscript" would better reveal that full identity does not exist between any of the manuscripts. It would be clear that a given manuscript has a parallel or parallels to 1QS or 1QM but that no one could decide which parallel is more important than another. New labels are, however, much avoided and not in practice desirable. Yet our scholarly work should attempt to be more specific, and also careful, when we speak, for example, how many "copies" exist of S and M and what it means to speak of fragmentary evidence as "copies."

A different option would be to choose to speak of "*S/M*-like manuscripts" or "*serekh ha-yahad-* and *serekh ha-milhama*-like manuscripts. We already speak of "S" and "M" as if these were existing things. However, "S" and "M" are abstract categories that only exist in our minds. In fact, it is the similarities that matter rather than differences in the whole concept of "S" and "M." This observation proposes that our perception and need to speak of "S" and "M"—which are then represented in one form or the other in the manuscript evidence—might actually be close to the ancients' perception: there existed rules for joining the movement and rules for its gatherings, as well as rules for preparing to face the enemy and conducting the war. "S" and "M" could in this perception include *much more* than the manuscripts so titled—and probably did in the ancients' minds. Some manuscripts were discussed in this article.[124] We argue that what determines the perception is the *comparative context*. Therefore, what we are dealing with is the *prototype* of such categories as "S" or "M." No one can list their defining criteria or build a firm boundary around them since their boundaries are fuzzy.[125]

[124] Another large question, but not touched on in this article, is the category of S in relation to D. The *Damascus Document* includes much material that could fall under the perception of "S"—or the other way around.

[125] Compare this to recent discussion on genre theory: scholars have identified several different approaches to understanding genre, and one of the most prominent is the prototype

Whenever an individual manuscript is perceived, it relates in different ways to the prototypical understanding of "S" or "M," and is perceived differently depending on the comparative counterparts. Therefore, in the end, the conceptualizations of "S" and "M" as cognitive ways of perceiving some of the similarities, extending over individual exemplars, is part of ancient and contemporary perception alike. Each manuscript is a *document that documents* traditions, their presentation and their understandings. This brings us to the second aspect:

(2) Material philology suggests that each manuscript *should* be taken in its own right. Thus 4Q versions should not just be viewed as less full and complete—somehow inferior versions. There is no evidence to think that any of the 4QS or 4QM manuscripts would have been even closely identical to 1QS or 1QM: they do not contain the same textual sections and they do not contain the same textual forms of the parallel sections. Editing scrolls and studying the existing material evidence carefully is time-consuming work, and often non-experts avoid it, but for the scholarship to advance on the question of what to think about the plurality of texts, even previous editorial principles have to come under scrutiny—and at least Qumran scholars have no excuse for avoiding the task. Edition principles are in the process of being critically evaluated and developed. Eibert Tigchelaar has been advancing the view that there is always need for different levels of editing (fragments, manuscripts, works, textual families), and also different editions for different audiences and media.

(3) Scholars have always tried hard to explain diversity and plurality, but the prototype perspective might suggest that we should rather explain why there are identical forms and similarity. Why, in an oral culture, does there exist literal accuracy and literary dependency? Can Cave 4 copies still be seen as a result of editing texts, rather than editing ideas? What if the textual similarities are the "template" into which new

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theory; see Vol 17/3 of *Dead Sea Discoveries*. The cognitively-based prototype theory is more useful in perceiving the rule texts than the family resemblance approach, which assumes genealogical similarities, and a family may include exemplars that have little to do with each other.

ideas are introduced? We must not exaggerate the differences. The ancient people may well have seen the common elements as more important than the differences. It is likely that as soon as some forms of "rules" began to be written, the ancient minds started to work with the principle that is common to all human perception: to create an understanding of prototypicality and view a single representative as more or less prototypical, also depending on the situation, on points of comparison and on prior familiarity with different exemplars.

It is of course legitimate to ask what the relationship of one manuscript is to another. Textual growth is generally recognized and goes well with the idea (above) of transmitting new ideas along transmitting prior knowledge. If, on the other hand, manuscript variation is explained by being abbreviations (for personal use, for example), special care should, in our view, be given to considering what might speak against this, and showing why the other option (textual growth) is not as likely. Furthermore, tools for explaining textual growth are also found in literary (source) criticism, which can to some extent now be enriched by manuscript evidence (textual criticism). The study of the rule texts should also be more fruitful since scholars recently have adopted a non-Qumran centred approach: S is not a text for the members living at Qumran only, and M does not necessarily represent a remote, isolated group envisioning the end-time war.

But more than this, our previous models to think with are challenged by new digital models: scribes as experts creating "open-ended programs" and transmitting material for different kinds of information processing: hierarchical levels of information, different search results and different models of presenting the data. The anachronism in these models is so obvious that it forces us to think what actually are our alternative, existing models, can we be more explicit about them, and improve them from non-linear, non-print, and non-book perspectives.[126]

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SARIANNA METSO

Challenging the Dichotomy between Halakhah and Community Legislation

This article aims at addressing a dichotomy that has developed in discussions pertaining to the legal material found at Qumran. It has long been recognized that the *Damascus Document* contains material quite similar to the communal and organizational legislation of the *Community Rule*, yet the bulk of the legal material in the *Damascus Document* bears the hallmarks of halakhah. The material in the *Community Rule*, on the other hand, is often classified under rubrics such as "constitutional," "communal," or "organizational" rules. In the secondary literature pertaining to legal texts found at Qumran, these two sets of material—"halakhic texts" and "community rules"—are usually treated separately,[1] with underlying but often unarticulated assumptions about their nature and origin. In this article, I will investigate and spell out some of those assumptions. I will focus on three areas: derivation of laws, level of authority, and the addressee group.

The language of halakhic vs. non-halakhic presents problems not too unlike the ones plaguing the language of biblical vs. non-biblical, which has received plenty of justified criticism. The term "halakhah" is an anachronism; as a *terminus technicus* it is used nowhere in the Scrolls

[1] See, e.g., Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 1:160–210; Timothy H. Lim and John J. Collins, *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 595–616, esp. 597–99.

but is first attested in the Rabbinic corpora.[2] And just as the key to sorting out the problem pertaining to "biblical" material hinges on the correct understanding of the processes through which the scriptural material emerged, so too does the appropriateness of the distinction between "halakhic" and "non-halakhic" depend on the understanding of the processes through which the legal material emerged. In the case of biblical or scriptural material, it proved necessary to have a broader historical perspective than the watershed of the year 70 C.E. The same is true of the legal material found at Qumran; it too should be placed on the continuum of broader legal developments of Second Temple Judaism.

Derivation of Laws

Different models have been suggested in regard to how the legal traditions in the Essene community were generated. One model suggests that the sole source for the legal traditions of the Scrolls was scriptural exegesis. Another model distinguishes between different texts, suggesting that scriptural exegesis was the source for the legal traditions in the *Damascus Document*, but not for the *Community Rule*. That raises the possibility that different communities generated their legal traditions in different ways. Yet a third model proposes that single communities may have operated in diverse ways, deriving rules regarding the covenant from the Torah, but rules for social organization from the lived experience of the community members.[3]

In my recent research focusing on the use of the text of Leviticus in the writings from Qumran, a picture emerges that does not easily fit any

[2] John P. Meier, "Is there *Halaka* (the noun) at Qumran?" *JBL* 122 (2003): 15–56; Dennis Green, "Halakhah at Qumran? The Use of 'h.l.k' in the Dead Sea Scrolls," *RevQ* 22 (2005): 235–51. For overviews of scholarship, see the articles by Alex Jassen and Aharon Shemesh in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Scholarly Perspective: A History of Research* (ed. D. Dimant; STDJ 99; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 101–54 and 345–61.

[3] I have discussed these three models attributed to Lawrence H. Schiffman, Philip R. Davies, and Moshe Weinfeld in "Creating Community Halakhah," in *Studies in the Hebrew Bible, Qumran, and the Septuagint: Presented to Eugene Ulrich* (ed. P. W. Flint, E. Tov, and J. C. VanderKam; VTSup 101; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 279–301.

of the models suggested above and blurs many of their borderlines.[4] In the cases I have studied, quotes from the book of Leviticus function as explicit or implicit proof-texts for establishing community discipline and cohesion both in the D and in S manuscripts, as well as in other texts, such as 4QRebukes Reported by the Overseer (4Q477), 4QBerakhot (4Q286–90), and 11QMelchizedek (11Q13).[5] A comparison between the different copies of S manuscripts in particular indicates that rather than derived from scriptural exegesis alone, some of these rules originated in the practical demands of community life, and only at a secondary stage received a scriptural basis to provide explicit authority.

While it is true, of course, that much of Essene halakhah was drawn from scriptural exegesis, as Lawrence Schiffman and others have shown,[6] it should be considered as only one source for halakhic legislation. Practical demands of everyday life generated new legal traditions that were brought under the canopy of Mosaic authority by means of supplementing them with secondary prooftexts. The process was thus

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[4] The results of this work have been published in "When the Evidence Does Not Fit: Method, Theory, and the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Rediscovering the Dead Sea Scrolls: An Assessment of Old and New Approaches and Methods* (ed. M. Grossman; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2010), 11–25; "Leviticus Outside the Legal Genre," in *A Teacher for All Generations: Essays in Honor of James C. VanderKam* (ed. E. F. Mason et al.; JSJSup 153/1; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 379–88; "The Character of Leviticus Traditions at Qumran," in *In the Footsteps of Sherlock Holmes: Studies in Honor of Anneli Aejmelaeus* (ed. T. M. Law, M. Liljeström, and K. De Troyer; CBET 72; Leuven: Peeters, 2014), 645–58. My discussion below partially relies on a synthesis of these articles.

[5] The cases pertain to the cases of separation from the outsiders (1QS 5:14–15 [Lev 22:16]); disobedient as those who shall not live (CD 3:12-20 [Lev 18:5]); apostates as those ruled by the spirits of Belial: (CD 12:1b–2a/4QD[f] 5i 18–19 [Lev 20:27]); insiders as those to be saved by Melchizedek (11QMelchizedek (11Q13) [Lev 25:13; 25:9]); and making distinctions between clean and unclean vis-à-vis outsiders [Lev 10:10]. An additional case worth mentioning pertains to the rebuke of transgressors (4QRebukes Reported by the Overseer; CD 9:2–4 [Lev 19:17]; 1QS 5:24–6:1 [Lev 19:17]; 4QBerakhot 4Q286-290) [Lev 19:17–18]), but my work pertaining to this last case remains as yet unpublished.

[6] In addition to the vast corpus of work by Lawrence Schiffman, the work of Joseph Baumgarten has been particularly seminal. See, e.g., Lawrence H. Schiffman, *The Halakhah at Qumran* (SJLA 16; Leiden: Brill, 1975); Joseph M. Baumgarten, *Studies in Qumran Law* (SJLA 24; Leiden: Brill, 1977). The influence of their work is evident, e.g., in Moshe Bernstein, Florentino García Martínez and John Kampen, eds., *Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Cambridge 1995* (STDJ 23; Leiden: Brill, 1997); Ian C. Werrett, *Ritual Purity and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 72; Leiden: Brill, 2007).

dialectic, communal conduct and halakhic exegesis influencing each other.

A comparable discussion has been ongoing in the field of rabbinic studies for several decades already. Mayer I. Gruber, for example, points out about the Mishnah and its exegetical traditions that while "some of the laws contained in the Mishnah purport to be of divine origin, and they have a clear basis in Scripture," others "have little or no scriptural basis" although they claim to have one. Yet some of the laws "purport to be the legislation of named or unnamed mortal authorities including the pre-exilic prophets." The laws of the Mishnah, he concludes, ought to be viewed as stemming "from numerous corpora."[7]

In terms of legal sources, then, the picture stemming from the Dead Sea Scrolls appears to be quite similar to that of the Mishnah. The legal material embedded in the manuscripts does not fall into one basket or another, but a single document can incorporate legal material stemming from different processes: some derived from Scriptural exegesis, some derived from practical exigencies of community life, and some which were similarly derived from the practical exigencies of community life but apparently received scriptural authorization secondarily. Different processes of legal derivation could be operational simultaneously in a single community. And it does not look like the Essene communities would have made a distinction between the rules regarding the covenant of the Torah on the one hand, and the rules supporting and enforcing social organization on the other hand, since secondary scriptural authorization was occasionally provided for rules of social organization. Thus, the strong dichotomy often posited between the halakhic rules and the organizational rules of the community does not appear well warranted as we look at the material in terms of legal derivation. From

[7] Mayer I. Gruber, "The Mishnah as Oral Torah: A Reconsideration," *JSJ* 15 (1984): 112–22. More recently, Lutz Doering has similarly argued that "[w]hile scriptural predisposition and support should thus be taken seriously; the establishment of halakhah should not be considered a predominantly exegetical enterprise." See his nuanced discussion on comparisons between rabbinic and Qumran texts in "Parallels without 'Parallelomania': Methodological Reflections on Comparative Analysis of Halakhah in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Rabbinic Perspectives: Rabbinic Literature and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. S. D. Fraade, A. Shemesh, and R. A. Clements; STDJ 62; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 13–42, esp. 17.

the point of view of Mishnaic studies, the material customarily labeled as "community legislation" in the Scrolls could possibly fit well under the rubric of halakhah.

Level of Authority

As we consider the question whether the Essene community made a distinction between the rules based on the Torah and the rules of community, e.g., by perhaps assigning a different level of authority for the two sets of laws, we can turn to the penal codes embedded in the documents for clues. For the case of "transgressing a word from the Torah of Moses presumptuously or negligently" (1QS 8:21–23), the punishment of permanent expulsion is assigned. The same punishment of permanent expulsion, however, is also applied to cases of "slandering the rabbim" (1QS 7:16–17, par. 4QD^{e} I 6–7), "making complaints about the authority of the community" (1QS 7:17), and "deviating from the fundamental principles of the community" after a full ten years of membership (1QS 7:18–25). Thus, on the basis of the penal codes, it does not look like there was a sense of a different level of authority between the laws of the Torah and the community's rules of practice.

Questions remain, however. The cases from the penal code just mentioned show that the community adjudicated the two types of legislation on the same level, but it is unclear whether this was done spontaneously or as the result of deliberate thought, leaders discussing the question and acknowledging that the authority of the community rules was in fact equal to that of the laws of the Torah. In the absence of explicit statements, this is simply unknown. But if there were a deliberate judgment that the authority of the two types was equal, this may have served as the catalyst for the secondary insertions of scriptural citations into revised editions of some rule texts. Another possibility is that a member may have questioned the legitimacy of a certain rule, and so a scriptural basis was added to bolster the rule's authority.

An article by Aharon Shemesh may give us an additional clue to the level of authority community legislation enjoyed among the Es-

senes.[8] Shemesh makes an interesting argument that the *ordering* of the cases in the penal codes of the *Community Rule* (1QS 6:24–7:24) with parallels in the *Damascus Document* appears to be following three biblical pericopes of Leviticus 19, Deuteronomy 23, and Numbers 16, all related to the holiness of the Israelites. The similarity pertains specifically to the ordering rather than to the derivation of individual rules. While on the one hand Shemesh considers the penal code as "a sectarian innovation intended to serve the Qumran community's special needs and to protect its unique social structure," the special ordering of the list of offenses according to a biblical frame, on the other hand, functions as "the sectarian manifesto" for a "holy community," providing "the theological raison d'être for its existence." Shemesh concludes that "any attempt to differentiate between injunctions grounded in the Pentateuch and anonymous sectarian legislation is an external distinction imposed by contemporary scholars, which had no reality for the sectarians for whom both were the living word of God."[9] This conclusion seems correct to me. That is, irrespective of the way individual rules were derived, their organization according to biblical patterns gives an indication that the community aimed its rules of social and judicial organization to be presented and viewed in full harmony with, or fulfilling the ethos of, the Torah.

Shemesh further points out that precisely in this organizational principle the penal code of 1QS is similar to rabbinic midrash, although the penal codes lack other hermeneutical techniques characteristic of rabbinic halakhah. This phenomenon of organizing material according to a "biblical skeleton" even when the wording of individual cases did not follow biblical verses is "of special interest" in the Scrolls, Shemesh writes, for it is revealing of the "patterns of thought processes and memorization" the authors had. They were so deeply immersed in the scriptural text that even when the wording of individual halakhot was not necessarily grounded in biblical verses, the cases were nevertheless

[8] Aharon Shemesh, "The Scriptural Background of the Penal Code in the *Rule of the Community* and *Damascus Document*," *DSD* 15 (2008): 191–224.
[9] Ibid., 216–17; emphasis mine.

clustered according to biblical models.[10] This implies a mindset among the Scrolls authors that makes little distinction between the authority of the Torah and the authority of community legislation.

The Addressee Group

A third feature often presumed to differentiate halakhic rules from community legislation pertains to the addressee group: halakhah is seen as intended for all Israel, whereas community legislation is for a specific group. Moshe Weinfeld writes: "One must distinguish between divine commands sanctified by the Torah which belong to the sphere of the covenant between God and Israel, and the regulations of the sect which relate to the social organization of the sect, and as such do not apply to the people of Israel as a whole but to a specific group which is bound by rules accepted voluntarily by its members."[11] Charlotte Hempel similarly defines halakhah as "legislation that is general in its formulation and application and which does not refer to a particular organized community." For her this term serves the practical purpose of distinguishing between the different layers of redaction in the *Damascus Document*, and she does add the caveat that "I have retained the standard terminology after some consideration mainly because of my dissatisfaction with alternatives I considered."[12]

As we look at central community documents found at Qumran, it becomes clear, however, that the Essene community viewed itself as the true Israel, and saw its own existence as fulfilling the laws of the Torah. According to 1QS, the community and its specific way of life were to establish "a holy house for Israel" (8:5) and "a house of community for Israel" (9:6). Just as 4QMMT intended the halakhic stipulations of the

[10] Ibid., 217–18.
[11] Moshe Weinfeld, *The Organizational Pattern and the Penal Code of the Qumran Sect: A Comparison with Guilds and Religious Associations of the Hellenistic-Roman Period* (NTOA 2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986), 72.
[12] Charlotte Hempel, *The Laws of the Damascus Document: Sources, Tradition and Redaction* (STDJ 29; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 25.

insider ("we") group as the correct way of behavior for Israel, so too was the intention of the community legislation in 1QS to present an ideal for a life appropriate for true Israel. In intentionality, there is no difference. Imbedded in both halakhah and community legislation is the notion of universality, although in practice, the setting of both halakhah and community legislation is particularistic; halakhah and community legislation are created and applied within specific groups. Thus, an attempt to make a distinction between halakhah and community legislation on the basis of the addressee does not turn out to be particularly compelling either.

Conclusion

In this article, I have used three different perspectives to investigate the legal material found at Qumran. I analyzed the legal derivation, the level of authority, and the addressee group to determine whether the commonly made distinction between halakhah and community legislation is helpful. Is this way of prototypically differentiating the legal materials in the *Damascus Document* from those in the *Community Rule* warranted, or does it perhaps hinder rather than help our analysis?

When it comes to the criterion of legal derivation, no clear-cut distinction is discernible. A single document can incorporate material stemming from different legal processes: some derived from scriptural exegesis, some from practical exigencies of community life, and some only secondarily supplied with scriptural exegetical hooks. These exegetical hooks in the ancient writers' legal discourse often prove to be the final stage rather than the point of departure in the process.

Similarly, in regard to the level of authority, no clear difference between the laws of the Torah and community legislation is detectable. Rather, the analysis of the content and structure of the penal codes reveals a mindset of the authors either deliberately or instinctively placing rules derived from community practice on the same level with the laws of the Torah.

The addressee group for both halakhah and community legislation is ultimately the same. While halakhah is always created and applied

within a specific group, its intentionality is universalistic, aiming at setting an ideal for proper behavior. Like most separatist groups, the Essenes believed that they were "the true Israel" and that their formulations and understandings of legal traditions were the proper interpretation of God's will as transmitted through Moses. Therefore, an attempt to make a distinction between halakhah and community legislation on the basis of the addressee does not turn out to be particularly compelling either.

Thus, an argument can be made for placing the so-called community legislation on the broader spectrum of Second Temple legal activity rather than into a separate category of its own.

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HANNE VON WEISSENBERG & CHRISTIAN SEPPÄNEN

Constructing the Boundary between Two Worlds

The Concept of Sacred in the Qumran Texts

Introduction

For many, the "sacred" is a fundamental element of what one calls "religion." "Sacred" or "holy"[1] can be used to describe some kind of special status of space, time, people and texts, and sometimes it is implied that these things called sacred are set apart for a particular purpose, or even that there is ontologically a fundamental difference between things sacred and non-sacred. However, although the term sacred is easily used not only in religious but also in scholarly discourse, it is often not entirely clear what this concept might mean. What does it imply that something/someone is considered "sacred" or "holy"? What does it mean for a community that some things are labelled sacred? How and

[1] In this paper, we use "sacred" and "holy" as synonyms. The former is derived from Latin while the latter has a Germanic origin. However, in the current usage of the English language they share virtually the same semantic field. Cf. e.g., "holy," "sacred" in *The Oxford English Dictionary Online*, [cited 4 June 2014]. Online: http://www.oed.com; *Oxford Dictionaries Online*, [cited 4 June 2014]. Online: http://www.oxforddictionaries.com; *Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary* (Springfield, Mass.: Merriam-Webster, 2001); *Merriam-Webster's Dictionary of Synonyms: A Dictionary of Discriminated Synonyms with Antonyms and Analogous and Contrasted Words* (Springfield, Mass.: Merriam-Webster, 1984).

by whom is the sacred defined; and what kind of effect does the sacred have on an individual or community accepting its special status?

In this study, we focus on the concept of "sacred" in the Qumran texts. The aim is to understand from the *emic* (insider) perspective, in light of this collection, how the concept of sacred might have been constructed by a group of Jewish people living in the late Second Temple period. This is not to say that the texts necessarily form a theologically coherent corpus, or that they did not have significance for our understanding of Judaism in this period more broadly. Rather, we are aware of the diversity of the Qumran collection and the multidimensionality of the compositions of this collection, as well as its importance as a window on this period in general. The basic assumption is, however, that all the texts preserved at Qumran had some importance for what we call the Qumran movement.[2] We approach the issue both from the perspective of the texts, by analyzing the semantic and conceptual fields and the usages of the root *qdš* and complement this data with theories of the sacred from religious studies.

Admittedly, linguistic conventions do not fully express everything that is present in a human culture: a concept can exist even if there is no term to express it.[3] Furthermore, a conceptual analysis does not necessarily suffice to cover all the practical and observable aspects of a category. In the case of ancient human communities, such as the Qumran movement of the late Second Temple period, a conceptual analysis of a central concept of religious discourse is nevertheless a viable opening for an investigation since beyond the textual data we have little evidence for our analysis.[4] Thus, the goal in this article is to investigate the term *qdš*

[2] We side with those scholars who see the Qumran movement as a group that was not restricted at Qumran. See John J. Collins, *Beyond the Qumran Community: The Sectarian Movement of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2009); for the issue of identity construction, see Jutta Jokiranta, *Social Identity and Sectarianism in the Qumran Movement* (STDJ 105; Leiden: Brill, 2013).

[3] We thank Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra for pointing out that cultures can have a concept without having a term for it, as shown by Victor Turner in his investigation of the rituals of the Ndembu; see Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing, 1969).

[4] Cf. Roy Rappaport, who sees sacred rather as something resulting from human processes and use of language: "– – sanctity is ultimately a quality of discourse and not of the objects

in the texts from the Qumran collection. At the same time, we are aware that the conceptual and semantic analysis has its limitations, as the practices of sacred-making cannot be fully appreciated or reached through purely literary evidence. The location of the sacred is not limited to textual contexts.[5]

The theories of religious studies are employed to sharpen our questions while re-evaluating the textual evidence and to become aware of the culturally dependent presuppositions that are often present when discussing the concept of sacred. Furthermore, they move the investigation beyond a word study, and assist in clarifying the distinction between the insider experience of a religious community and the outsider perspective of scholarly analysis. Thus, our aim is a deeper appreciation of the religious experience of a late Second Temple Jewish community.

The Concept of Sacred in Religious Studies

Before turning to the Qumran material, we approach the concept of "sacred" from the perspective of religious studies (*Religionswissenschaft*).[6] The complexity and ambiguity of the category "sacred" becomes evident in a dialogue with this field of study. As biblical scholars, our understanding of religion and the concepts we use in studying and describing religion are often dominated by our traditions and definitions derived from our own heritage. However, the problem is not ours alone, and even the field of religious studies long suffered from the same problem of ethnocentricity as Veikko Anttonen, among others, has pointed

with which that discourse is concerned" (*Ecology, Meaning, Religion* [Richmond, Calif.: North Atlantic Books, 1979], 209). The ancient textual clues are complemented by archaeological and iconographic evidence, although this often requires textual data for interpretation.

[5] For instance, Roy A. Rappaport emphasizes ritual as the location of the sacred; see Roy A. Rappaport, *Ritual and Religion in the Making of Humanity* (Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

[6] By religious studies we mean the academic field which in its early years was known as comparative religion or science of religion.

out. This has had its effect on the scholarly understanding of many of the central concepts, sacred included.[7]

Some influential theories of religion use the concept of sacred and the dichotomy sacred–profane as a starting point in the very definition of religion. Rudolf Otto introduced the concept in his book *The Idea of the Holy*.[8] For Otto—who was more a theologian than a scholar of religion—holy has a critical role in his understanding of religion. For him, holy is a universal, *a priori* category of consciousness, and he emphasized the emotion, the irrational, and the experience of awe, the feeling of the numinous, induced by revelation. For Otto, holy is not a cultural construct, not a theoretical concept; instead holy is a unique "numinous" category of value.[9] Holy appears gradually in the history of "man" and, perhaps unsurprisingly, for Otto Christianity is the culmination of this process.[10]

Otto's ideas were further developed by Mircea Eliade, who was one of the central figures of the phenomenological approach to religion. Phenomenology can be defined as a descriptive, empathizing approach to religion, in which an important methodological approach to investigation is to take seriously and understand the believers, insiders' experience, and their explanations of these experiences.[11] Eliade saw sacred

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[7] Veikko Anttonen points out the dependence on Judeo-Christian heritage, even in religious studies, especially in relation to the concept of sacred: "In the phenomenology of religion [dominated by Judeo-Christian heritage] the attributes by which sacredness as an emotion is conventionally determined are, e.g., detachment from everyday reasoning, quietness, devotion, beauty, purity, unity, atemporality, infinity, noncorporeality." See Veikko Anttonen, "What Is It That We Call 'Religion'? Analyzing the Epistemological Status of the Sacred as a Scholarly Category in Comparative Religion," in *Perspectives on Method and Theory in the Study of Religion* (ed. A. W. Geertz and R. T. McCutcheon; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 195–206, esp. 198.

[8] Rudolf Otto, *The Idea of the Holy: An Inquiry into the Non-Rational Factor in the Idea of the Divine and Its Relation to the Rational* (2nd ed.; transl. J. W. Harvey; London: Oxford University Press, 1950).

[9] Otto, *The Idea of the Holy*, 7.

[10] Otto is ambivalent with regard to Judaism, but clearly negative in his attitudes towards Islam, which he sees as regression. For an analysis and evaluation of Otto's thinking, see Tim Murphy, *The Politics of Spirit: Phenomenology, Genealogy, Religion* (SUNY Series, Issues in the Study of Religion; Albany: State University of New York Press, 2011), 157–78.

[11] For an overview see Seth D. Kunin, *Religion: The Modern Theories* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2003), 116–36.

and profane as "two modes of being in the world,"[12] and the religious man experiences two kinds of space and time: profane and sacred. Religion is based on a universal experience of a transcendent other, and the "sacred" is linked to "hierophany," an incarnation of the "sacred" in a natural object.[13] Eliade and Otto base their theories of religion and the sacred on the ontological assumption according to which there exists another world, the wholly other, which is transcendent, and the human experience of the sacred occurs when in contact with this transcendent or supernatural other.

Alongside Otto and Eliade, Émile Durkheim is among those who define religion via the concept of "sacred."[14] In a manner similar to Eliade, he stresses the profound difference of the sacred and the profane and the universality of these categories.[15] Importantly, however, Durkheim emphasizes the collective and social aspect in religion, which means that the distinction between sacred and profane is made by the society, not by an individual.[16] In Durkheim's thinking, nothing is inherently sacred, but it is the mark that the society imprints on an object, or on a category of time or place, that gives it a sacred character.

The phenomenological approach to religion, represented by Eliade, has been criticized by Veikko Anttonen, among others. He points out that "the phenomenological understanding of the sacred as a dynamic force originating in another world blurs the boundaries of religious and scientific discourses."[17] Furthermore, it ignores the cultural dependence of the category of sacred. Anttonen claims that even in religious studies, and in particular by the phenomenologists, the category of the sacred has been used to refer to the "transcendent worlds which religious be-

[12] Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion* (transl. W. R. Trask; Orlando, Fla.: Harcourt, 1957), 14–16.
[13] Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane*.
[14] Émile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life* (transl. C. Cosman; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 46: "a religion is a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things, that is to say, things set apart and surrounded by prohibitions—beliefs and practices that unite its adherents in a single moral community called a church."
[15] Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, 36.
[16] Kunin, *Religion: The Modern Theories*, 19.
[17] Veikko Anttonen, "Sacred," in *Guide to the Study of Religion* (ed. W. Braun and R. T. McCutcheon; London: Cassell Academic Publishers, 1999), 271–82, esp. 277.

havior is directed to." The "sacred" has been understood as "a designation for the transcendent reality which becomes manifest in the world of human societies."[18] Thus, the sacred has usually been used as a descriptive rather than an analytical category, and although there has been a renewed interest in the sacred as a scholarly concept, the problem seems to be that "no one has managed to set the sacred in a wider theoretical context."[19]

Furthermore, although Otto, Eliade and Durkheim have emphasized the universal nature of the categories sacred and profane, this distinction as a way to define the origin or the core of religion is by no means uncontested. For example, for Roy Rappaport, sacred is not so much the start of a religion as the end product of it,[20] and in Pascal Boyer's recent and highly influential book, *Explaining Religion: The Evolutionary Origins of Religious Thought*, sacred is mentioned only in passing:

> People thought that religion everywhere must have something to do with the "sacred" or "divinity," or "ultimate reality" – – But human cultures are not that simple. For each of these themes that seemed very general, anthropologists soon found many counterexamples. For instance, people used to think that a religious artefact was, by necessity, a "sacred" object treated with awe and respect. Now in many places in Africa people wear elaborate masks during ceremonies. The person wearing the mask is said to have become the spirit or ancestor represented. The mask is about as religious an object as could be. Yet after the ceremony people throw the mask away or let children play with it. The only way to fit this into a description of religion as "sacred" is to say that these people either have no religion or else have a special conception of the "sacred."[21]

Coming from a cognitive perspective, Anttonen attempts a conceptualization of the sacred as a theoretical construct, not as a category with a

[18] Anttonen, "What Is It That We Call 'Religion'?" 195.
[19] Ibid., 195.
[20] Rappaport, *Ritual and Religion*, 402.
[21] Pascal Boyer, *Religion Explained: The Evolutionary Origins of Religious Thought* (New York: Basic Books, 2001), 57.

supernatural or transcendent referent.[22] The emphasis is on the sacred as a cultural construct, as a culturally dependent and graded category that cannot exist independently of human societies and interactions.[23] Rather, the sacred is created by human societies by separation, classification and categorization, and is symbolically represented in behavior. Thus, the meaning of the concept "sacred" inevitably varies from one human community to another.[24] Anttonen resembles Durkheim in stating that people participate in sacred-making activities. Anttonen emphasizes the "set-apartness" of the sacred, which is recognizable even by an "outsider" from behavioral rules, signs and symbols. Anttonen's definition of the sacred has as its starting point a cognitive-semantic approach; however, he adds to his methodology a behavioral and ethnographic perspective.[25]

In the investigation that follows, the theoretical questions discussed above will inform our analysis. The phenomenological explanations of the sacred serve as reminders for sensitivity towards the insider religious experience. This means that according to our understanding, the primary textual sources are to a certain extent descriptions of those experiences. The texts are not only rational or theological expositions, but give us a glimpse to the worldview of the ancients. Therefore, applying a hermeneutical approach uncovers something of the mind-set of the insider and his understanding of the "sacred." At the same time, we are aware of the role of language in constructing reality. The cognitive-semantic approach allows for a demystifying investigation of the sacred without making an underlying assumption of the nature of reality, and high-

[22] In cognitive psychology, paranormal and religious beliefs are explained as mistakes in core knowledge and are sometimes defined as category mistakes where the core attributes of psychological, physical, and biological phenomena are confused with one another. See, for example, Marjaana Lindeman and Kia Aarnio, "Superstitious, magical, and paranormal beliefs," *Journal of Research in Personality* 41 (2007), 731–44.

[23] Anttonen understands sacred as a culturally dependent cognitive category that at the same time "separates" and "binds," the sacred is "a collective representation – – created by an act of separation and an act of signification." Anttonen, "What Is It That We Call 'Religion'?" 196.

[24] Ibid., "What Is It That We Call 'Religion'?" 201.

[25] Veikko Anttonen, "Toward a Cognitive Theory of the Sacred: an Ethnographic Approach," *Folklore* 14 (2000): 41–48.

lights the cultural dependence of concepts and how they need to be understood as cultural products, dynamic and changing.[26] Thus, it cautions the modern scholar to take a reflective step back. Furthermore, it emphasizes the graded structure and fuzzy boundaries that are an integral part of concepts and categories.[27] Introducing insights from both theoretical frameworks in our analysis clarifies the difference between the scholarly construction and the ancient insider understanding of the sacred.

What Was Sacred at Qumran?

The Sacred in the Hebrew Bible

Having now investigated the concept of sacred in general, we will move on by studying how the term sacred is used in the Qumran texts. Since the language of Qumran Hebrew is in many ways closely related to that of Biblical Hebrew, we shall first briefly introduce the usage of the word "holy" in the Hebrew Bible. In Biblical Hebrew, there is only one root to denote "holy" or "sacred," i.e., קדשׁ (*qdš*).[28] The root *qdš* has several derivatives: the verb *qdš* (qal, niph., pi., pu., hitp., hiph.), the adjective *qādôš* "holy," the abstract noun *qōdeš* "holiness," the nominalised adjec-

[26] Anttonen, "Toward a Cognitive Theory of the Sacred,"41–42. "From a cognitive perspective, the scholarly approach to the idea of the sacred does not entail metaphysical or religious questions about the nature of reality."

[27] For conceptual history, see, for instance http://www.concepta-net.org/conceptual_history. For concepts and their structure, see also Gregory Murphy, *The Big Book of Concepts* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2004).

[28] According to *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*, the root *qdš* has no actual synonyms, but it is related to several other roots, such as *ṭhr* "to be clean"; *kbs* "to fill," "to wash"; *nzr* "to be a Nazirite"; see W. Kornfeld and H. Ringren, "קדשׁ," *TDOT* 12:527. The etymology of the root *qdš* is unknown. Its meaning may derive from the idea of "separation" or "differentiation from surroundings," but these connotations may also be secondary. Kornfeld and Ringren, *TDOT* 12:523. We would not place too much stress on the etymology of the word. Instead we are interested on its actual usage in the Qumran texts. See, however, Anttonen, who claims that the root sacred "universally denotes 'to cut,' 'to set apart,' 'to mark off'"; Anttonen, "Toward a Cognitive Theory of the Sacred," 42.

tive *qādēš*/*qĕdēšâ* "consecrated one,"[29] and *miqdāš* which refers especially to "sanctuary," "sacrificial offering" or "Yahweh as the source of holiness." The verb *qdš* designates "to be consecrated, to be holy" in qal, whereas the hiphil and piel stems are usually causative, factitive or estimative ("to make holy," "to consider holy"). In the Hebrew Bible, the meaning of the root *qdš* extends to the following aspects:[30]

1) God himself (1 Sam 2:2), including his name (Lev 20:3), spirit (Isa 63:10), and dwelling (2 Chr 30:27);
2) "Holy ones," (Dan 8:13) which refer to angels (Dan 8:13, cf. 4:10 [in Aramaic]);
3) certain things established by God such as the Sabbath (Exod 31:14), festivals (Neh 10:32), the land (Zech 2:12), the war (Jer 51:27–28) and the covenant (Dan 11:28);
4) objects, people, places and spaces associated with cult, e.g., priests (Exod 28:3), priestly vestments (Ex 31:10), cultic utensils (1 Kgs 8:4), sacrificial material (Exod 3:25), and the temple (1 Kgs 8:64);
5) the people of Israel (Exod 19:6), including its individuals (2 Kgs 4:9).[31]

God, His Name, Spirit, and Dwelling

In the Qumran texts in general, the usage of the root *qdš* is similar to that of the Hebrew Bible.[32] Thus, it is reasonable to classify the occur-

[29] In general, the adjective means a member of the cult personnel, but in the Hebrew Bible it consistently refers particularly to a person who is part of Canaanite cults, see, e.g., Deut 23:18.
[30] Cf. Kornfeld and Ringren, *TDOT* 12:527–42.
[31] On the topic of holiness in the Hebrew Bible see the studies by Jacob Milgrom and Baruch A. Levine; Milgrom, *Leviticus I–III* (New York: Yale University Press, 1998, 2000, 2001); Levine, "The Language of Holiness," in *Backgrounds for the Bible* (ed. M. P. O'Connor and D. N. Freedman; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1987), 241–56.
[32] According to *The Concise Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*, the occurrences of the root in the Qumran texts are the following: the verb *qdš* 55 (qal 3, niph. 3, pi. 23, hiph. 11, hoph. 1,

rences of the root in a similar manner. Several Qumran texts, to no surprise, explicitly attribute sanctity to the divine. Not only is God himself holy, but also God's name (e.g., CD 20:34; 1QpHab 2:4; 1QM 11:3; see also the Hebrew Bible, e.g., Lev 20:3), God's spirit (e.g., 1QH[a] 4:38), and even his purpose (*maḥăšābâ*, 1QM 13:2).

The holiness of the divine name YHWH is also visible in the scribal practices in the Qumran texts. In some of the manuscripts, both biblical and non-biblical, it is expressed with specific practices setting it apart from the rest of the text, usually by writing the *tetragrammaton* with different letters (paleo-Hebrew) or as four dots (*tetrapuncta*) or strokes. In addition to these practices, in 4QReworked Pentateuch[b] (4Q364) a dicolon (:) is written before the *tetragrammaton*, and in manuscript 11Q22 לאלהיכ, "for your God," is written in a different color from the rest of the manuscript.[33]

In the Hebrew Bible, there are few occurrences referring to God's holy spirit, and the phrase *rûaḥ haqqōdeš* occurs only rarely and always with a suffix referring to God (Isa 63:10, 11; Ps 51:13). In the Qumran texts, however, *ruaḥ haqqodeš* is a relatively common expression and it is used in various contexts—even without a suffix.[34] Although in the Qumran texts *rûaḥ haqqōdeš* is closely linked to God, it seems to have some semi-autonomous functions.[35] *Rûaḥ haqqōdeš* can be the agent of prophecy (CD 2:12), a fount of knowledge (1QH[a] 6:24; 20:14–15; 21:34), or a guide and protector (1QH[a] 8:25; 15:9–10; 17:32).[36] These passages emphasize the holy spirit as a mediator in the revelatory pro-

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hitp. 14), *qādōš* 1, *qōdeš* 490, and *miqdāš* 81; see David J. A. Clines, ed., *The Concise Dictionary of Classical Hebrew* (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2009), 388–89.

[33] Emanuel Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert* (STDJ 54; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 218–21.

[34] For a detailed study of all the occurrences see Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, "Historical Origins of the Early Christian Concept of the Holy Spirit: Perspectives from the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Holy Spirit, Inspiration, and the Cultures of Antiquity: Multidisciplinary Perspectives* (ed. J. Frey and J. R. Levison; Ekstasis 5; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014), 167–240.

[35] Nevertheless, *ruaḥ haqqodeš* in the Qumran texts is not independent of or separate from God as in later Christian texts. See, F. F. Bruce, "Holy Spirit in the Qumran Texts," *Annual of Leeds University Oriental Society* 6 (1966/68): 49–55.

[36] Ibid., 51–52.

cess, and as the source of understanding and spiritual strength.[37] This holy spirit is an aspect of the divinity, related to it but not entirely identical with it. Furthermore, in Qumran texts the holy spirit is the agent that purifies chosen human beings from their sin (1QS 3:6–8; 4:20–21).[38] *Rûaḥ haqqōdeš* is said to indwell in the community (1QS 9) and the members of the movement may receive it from God (1QS 3; 1QH[a] 15:9–10), but the members have to be vigilant not to allow the spirit to be defiled by sin (CD 5:11).[39] Thus, whereas in the Hebrew Bible it appears only in passing, *rûaḥ haqqōdeš* in the Qumran texts has several significant roles, functioning as an extension of the divinity.

In addition to God's name and spirit, his "habitation" (*māʿôn*) is also holy. In this heavenly court or celestial temple, God and his angels dwell. The *Hodayot* emphasize the clear distinction between humanity and God, and the human being is dust in comparison to its creator. At the same time, there is the possibility for a chosen human being to reside in the proximity of the divinity, in his "holy dwelling," and the profound difference between humanity and the divine expressed in the poems is used as a literary device to highlight the uniqueness of the experience of nearness.[40]

> For You have a multitude of holy ones in the heavens and hosts of angels in Your holy abode to pr[aise] Your[truth.] The chosen ones of the holy people You have established for Yourself in a [community. The nu]mber[41] of the names of all their host is with You in Your holy dwelling, and the n[umber of the holy one]s is in the abode of Your glory.[42] (1QM 12:1–2; cf. 4Q491 11i 20; 11QPs[a] 24:3–4)

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[37] Cf. *Barkhi Nafshi*, where the speaker of the poem refers to "holy words" given to him by God himself: "And you have made my mouth like a sharp sword, and my tongue you have set loose to (utter) holy words" (4Q436 ia + b17). God is the source of wisdom and understanding, even of prudent talk.
[38] Bruce, "Holy Spirit," 52–54.
[39] Ibid., 50–55.
[40] See, for instance, Crispin H.T. Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam: Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 42; Leiden: Brill, 2002), 104–7.
[41] Or: "book" (*spr* in Hebrew).
[42] The translations of the Dead Sea Scrolls in this article are based on Michael O. Wise, Martin G. Abegg and Edward M. Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 2005) with slight modifications.

> [… I will dwel]l safely in a ho[ly] dwelling, [in] quietness and in ease [with the eternal spirits] in the tents of glory and salvation. I will praise Your name among those who fear You. (1QH[a] 20:5–6)

Whether the association with angels and the divinity refers to a future eschatological expectation rather than to the present experience has been a debated issue.[43] It seems, however, that for the Qumran movement the participation in the divine sphere was an existing option in the here and now, not merely reserved for the eschatological afterlife.

Angelic Beings

Besides God, other, lesser divine beings, also referred to as angels (*mal'āk*), are holy. Angels are God's creations; they reside in the heavenly realm but can also enter the human world. For the Qumran movement, the presence of the angels was a reality. The community itself was a holy society (see below), living in communion with the angels:

> He has made them heirs in the legacy of the Holy Ones; with the Angels has He united their assembly, a Yahad party. (1QS 11:7–8)

> – – none of these shall enter the congregation, for the holy angels are in your midst. (CD 15:17; cf. 1QSa II 8–9)

> Any man who is not ritually clean in respect to his genitals on the day of battle shall not go down with them into battle, for holy angels are present with their army. (1QM 7:5–6)

In some cases, especially in the *Berakhot* and in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, the "holy spirits" (in plural) do not refer to the holy spirit of God but to angelic beings as separate entities and spiritual beings (cf.

[43] See, for example, Albert L. A. Hogeterp, *Expectations of the End: A Comparative Traditio-Historical Study of Eschatological, Apocalyptic and Messianic Ideas in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament* (STDJ 83; Leiden: Brill, 2009), 288–91. Another, separate and equally debated issue is whether the *Hodayot* contain references to bodily resurrection.

e.g. 4Q287 2 5; 4Q403 1i 44; 4Q405 6 5; for a discussion of these compositions see below). The *Hodayot* describe the human participation in the heavenly congregation with angels:

> The perverse spirit You have cleansed from great transgression, that he might take his stand with the host of the holy ones, and enter together (or in the Yahad) with the congregation of the sons of heaven. (1QH^a 11:21–22)

The holiness of the angels derives from the holiness of God: since God is holy, angels residing in the heavenly sphere are holy. In a manner similar to God's holy spirit, these beings are mediators between divine and human realms. The references to angels as holy spirits emphasize their connection with the divine and the "holy spirit of God" and the angels as "holy spirits" seem to represent different grades of divine agency or presence.

Institutions Established by God: the Sabbath, Festivals, and the Covenant

The holiness of God is distributed to institutions that are established by him. The idea of sacred time, including the Sabbath and festivals, is articulated in various texts. The sanctity of the Sabbath is based on God's command (Exod 20:10; Deut 5:14), and in some of the texts found in the Qumran collection, the importance of the holy day is emphasized by the 364-day calendar, which prevents any other holiday from coinciding with the Sabbath (see, e.g., CD 3:12–15; 4:17–21; 1QS 1:13–15). The *Damascus Document*, the *Community Rule*, and the *Book of Jubilees*, establish a link between the correct observance of the calendar and the covenantal relationship:

> But when those of them who were left held firm to the commandments of God he instituted His covenant (*bĕrît*) with Israel for ever, revealing to them things hidden, in which all Israel had gone wrong: *vacat* His holy Sabbaths, His glorious festivals (*môʿēd*), His righteous laws (*ʿēdût*), His reliable ways (*derek*). (CD 3:12–15; cf. 1QS 1:13–17; *Jub*. 1:9–10)

The covenant itself is considered sacred, as stated explicitly in 1QSb V 23 (cf. 1QSb I 2). Besides the covenant, there are a few occasions assigning holiness to God's laws and regulations (*mišpāṭ* or *ḥōq* in plural):

> – – do not act arrogantly against His holy laws (*ḥōq*) and His righteous ordinances (*mišpāṭ*) – – (CD 20:30–31)

> […]and [Your] hol[y] laws (*ḥōq*)[…] (4Q512 64 6)

> And You shall purify us for [Your] holy laws (*ḥōq*)[…] (4Q414 2ii+4 1)

The holiness of the laws can be explained by the origin of the laws: they are expressions of God's will and command, and therefore holy. Importantly, the Torah never receives the attribute holy (*qdš*). However, the divine origin of the Torah is mentioned in the *Community Rule*, and in the same passage God's holy spirit is involved in at least some part of the continuous (oral) revelation:

> This means the expounding of the Torah (tôrâ), decreed by God through Moses for obedience, that being defined by what has been revealed for each age and by what the prophets have revealed by His holy spirit. (1QS 8:15)

Regardless, whether this passage or the other instances of God's holy laws perceive the *written* laws or the physical Torah scroll as sacred, or whether the rules and regulations are holy in some other, more abstract way, is not evident.

The term "holy tongue" (*lĕšôn haqqōdeš*) appears once in the texts from Qumran, in a fragmentary context containing a reference to Zeph 3:9 and associating the holy language to the patriarch Abraham (4Q464 3i 8). It is possible that the phrase reflects the Qumran movement's preference of writing in Hebrew, but there is too little evidence to draw any far-reaching conclusions.[44]

[44] See Moshe Bernstein, *Reading and Re-Reading Scripture at Qumran* (STDJ 107/1; Leiden: Brill, 2013), 78.

Spaces, Places, Objects, and People Associated with the Cult

As in the Hebrew Bible, things and people related to the cult are considered sacred: priests (4Q545 4 16), priestly vestments (11QT[a] 33:7), anointing oil (11QPs[a] 28:11), and sacrificial material (11QT[a] 60:3–6). Ritually significant places are sacred in Qumran texts in a manner similar to the Hebrew Bible. Many of these are also linked explicitly with the cult such as the Temple (4Q403 1i 42), Jerusalem (4Q394 8iv 10) and Zion (4Q504 1–2R iv 12).[45] The idea of the "primeval garden as a prototype of sanctuary,"[46] and therefore holy, is present in the *Miscellaneous Rules* (4Q265 7 14) and *Jubilees* (*Jub.* 3:12–13).

These spaces, places, and objects associated with the cult are sacred as a result of their connection with the "godly sphere." Through collective actions and communal habits they become something special, something that is set apart from the common and worldly. The religious festival calendar, discussed above, distinguishes the sacred time from the profane.

The sanctity and religious significance of things related to the cult derives from their presence and role in the liturgy that both creates and celebrates the community's relationship with the holy God. In cult and liturgy in particular, the "sacred" is both experienced (the phenomenological interpretation), and constructed through and marked off by behavioral rules (cf. Anttonen),[47] such as the regulations concerning ritual purity and impurity.[48] These are the observable human interactions and

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[45] For the holiness of the Temple and Jerusalem as the city of sanctuary, see, for example, Hannah Harrington, "Holiness in the Laws of 4QMMT," in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Cambridge 1995* (ed. M. Bernstein et al.; STDJ 23; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 109, 113–17, 128.

[46] Joseph M. Baumgarten, "Purification and the Garden in 4Q265 and *Jubilees*," in *New Qumran Texts and Studies: Proceedings of the First Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Paris, 1992* (ed. G. J. Brooke; STDJ 15; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 6.

[47] Anttonen, "Toward a Cognitive Theory of the Sacred," 41–48. See also the discussion at the end of section 2 "The Concept of Sacred in Religious Studies."

[48] For recent discussions on the issue of purity and cult, see Jonathan Klawans, *Impurity and Sin in Ancient Judaism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); idem, *Purity, Sacrifice, and the Temple: Symbolism and Supersessionism in the Study of Ancient Judaism* (Oxford: Oxford

"sacred-making" practices that in living communities can be studied directly, but in the case of a late Second Temple Jewish community, can be reached mainly through textual evidence.

Chosen People

In addition to God, angelic beings, and the places, persons, and objects reserved for or consecrated to the divine, certain people of the human world can be called holy. As mentioned above, the priests receive a sacral status through their relationship to the cult.[49] In a manner similar to the Hebrew Bible, in the Qumran texts Israel is referred to as holy, and the holiness of Israel results from its election by God (e.g., 11QT[a] 48:7, citing Deut 14:3). However, many texts tend to attribute holiness not to all Israel but only to the "true Israel," i.e., the members of the Qumran movement (cf. 1QS 1:12–13; 2:9, 16; 5:13, 18; 8:17, 21, 24; CD 4:6; 8:28; 1QM 12:1). The community itself is holy *par excellence*. It is called the *Yahad* of Holiness, holy becomes their self-designation:[50]

> They are to walk with all by the standard of truth and the dictates proper to the age. When such men as these come to be in Israel, then shall the party of the Yahad truly be established, *vacat* an "eternal planting" (*Jub.* 16:26), a temple for Israel, and—mystery!—a Holy of Holies for Aaron; true witnesses to justice, chosen by God's will to atone for the land and to recompense the wicked their due *vacat* They will be "the tested wall, the precious corner stone" (Isa 28:16) whose *vacat* foundations shall neither be shaken nor swayed, *vacat* a fortress, a Holy of Holies for Aaron, all of them knowing the Covenant of Justice and thereby offering a sweet savour. (1QS 8:4–9; cf. also 1QS 8:21; 9:2)

University Press, 2009). See also Lawrence H. Schiffman, *Qumran and Jerusalem: Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the History of Judaism* (SDSSRL; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2010), 258–60.

[49] Possibly the messiah is also called holy once in 1Q30 1 2, but the context is too fragmentary to make any far-reaching conclusions.

[50] Jacobus Naude, "Holiness in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years* (ed. P. W. Flint and J. C. VanderKam; Leiden: Brill, 1998–1999), 2:186–88.

The members of the movement are identified as holy, they are the "men of holy perfection" (CD 20:1–2), and they form a "holy society" (1QS 2:24–25).[51] The holiness of the community is correlated with a separation from others, see 1QS 8:13–15:

> – – conforming to these doctrines, they shall separate from the session of perverse men to go to the wilderness, there to prepare the way of truth, as it is written, "In the wilderness prepare the way of the LORD, make straight in the desert a highway for our God" (Isa 40:3). This means the expounding of the Law, decreed by God through Moses for obedience, that being defined by what has been revealed for each age – –

In sum, sacred is linked to the perfection required of the members of the movement and is used as an identity term. The "set-apartness" of the community is emphasized by the use of this term. It needs to be said, however, that this is not necessarily directly related to the actual practices of the members of the Qumran movement, as many of them must have lived outside Qumran; instead, it is more likely that they had a variety of interaction with other people. Possibly, especially for this reason, there was a need for emphasizing the uniqueness of the insiders.[52]

Holy and profane

The category of holy can also be studied by its antonyms, *ḥll* and *ḥwl*. The verbal root *ḥll* with the meaning "to profane" is used in connection with the Sabbath (e.g., CD 11:15), God's name (e.g., CD 15:3), the Temple (e.g., 4Q266 5ii 6), the covenant (e.g., 4Q383 A 2), and conse-

[51] Several other expressions for "holy society" are also used, e.g., "holy house of Aaron" (1QS 9:6), "holy among all the peoples" (1Q34 3ii 6), "Congregation of Holiness" (1QS 5:20), "the council of the holy ones" (1QH^a 12:26), "the holy ones of His people" (1QM 6:6, cf. 14:12), "men of holiness" (1QS 8:17), "a Holy of Holies for Aaron" (1QS 8:8). See Hannah Harrington, "Holiness and Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls," *DSD* 8 (2001): 124–35.

[52] On the question of the broader Qumran movement not being confined to the one settlement by the Dead Sea, see Collins, *Beyond the Qumran Community*; for the issue of identity construction, see Jokiranta, *Social Identity*.

crated substances (e.g., oil in 4Q493 1 5). These passages refer to regulations that prohibit defiling the holy thing, or they describe impious people whose actions result in the profanation of something held sacred. Profanation thus means defilement of the sacred and contempt of the regulations protecting it. It also refers to ritual impurity in the context of the Temple or consecrated things.

The noun *ḥôl* is used explicitly in opposition to *qōdeš* as in the *Damascus Document*: They must distinguish between defiled and pure, teaching the difference between holy and profane (*ḥôl*). They must keep the Sabbath day according to specification and the holy days and the fast day according to the commandments of the members of the new covenant in the land of Damascus – –. (CD 6:17–19)

The regulations above are the rule for those who live in the cities of Israel, with these regulations to separate unclean from clean and to discriminate between holy and profane (*ḥôl*). These are the rules for the sage to live by with all that is living, according to the regulation for every occasion. (CD 12:19–21)

These references confirm what was already learned from the analysis of the root *qdš*. Those things that one should not profane are the same as those that are sacred. Sacredness is related to purity, and the sacred needs to be distinguished and kept apart from other, profane or unclean, things. The *Damascus Document* displays a dichotomy between the sacred and the profane, a feature of religion emphasized in the theories of Eliade and Durkheim. Although the separation of these two realms is recognized, it would be an exaggeration to claim that the distinction is the fundamental characteristic of the entire religious system or belief in the *Damascus Document*, and even less so in the Qumran texts more broadly.[53] More important is to recognize how the sacred is maintained or violated by human conduct, and the prohibitions and rules concretize the abstract category of the sacred in actual behavior.

[53] Another issue altogether is whether a systematic set of beliefs can be derived from this collection at all, as the texts found at Qumran contain a variety of ideas and nuances, and it would be simplistic to reduce them to one doctrine on any matter.

This makes explicit the role of human activity in constructing the sacred (cf. Anttonen).[54]

Condensation of the Sacred: *The Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* and *Berakhot*

A remarkable concentration of the term sacred/holy is found in two liturgical texts from the Qumran collection, the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* and the *Berakhot*. Roughly one fourth of all the occurrences of the root *qdš* are found in the manuscripts of these two compositions, both preserved in several copies in the Qumran collection, thus probably of some importance for the Qumran movement.[55] In what follows, we will concentrate on these two texts in order to highlight the relevance of the concept "sacred" in the context of worship and liturgy. These texts serve as prime examples of the ritual as the locus of the sacred. They are expression of how the sacred can be visualized, embodied and constructed through language, behavior and communal practices.

Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice consists of thirteen songs that describe the heavenly temple and the angels who serve there as priests praising God (therefore previously called the "angelic liturgy"). This composition can be defined as belonging to a genre of mystical texts.[56] The problems of definition with regard to "mysticism" aside, the *Songs* can justifiably be described as the "key document of the whole Qumran mystical corpus."[57] According to Philip Alexander, the *Songs of the Sab-*

[54] See the discussion at the end of section 2 "The Concept of Sacred in Religious Studies."
[55] The root *qdš* occurs 627 times in the Qumran texts, see n. 32. In the *Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice* and *Berakhot* we found 158 occurrences of the root *qdš* (63 of these are partially reconstructed). The *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* is preserved in ten fragmentary copies, nine from the Qumran caves (4Q400–4Q407; 11Q17) and one from Masada (MaslK), the *Berakhot* in five manuscripts (4Q286–290).
[56] Philip Alexander, *The Mystical Texts* (LSTS 7; London: Bloomsbury, 2006); Bilha Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry* (STDJ 12; Leiden: Brill, 1994).
[57] For this see Philip Alexander, "Qumran and the Genealogy of Western Mysticism," in *New Perspectives on Old Texts: Proceedings of the Tenth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 9–11 January 2005* (ed.

bath Sacrifice describe a communal "ascent." The community on earth joins the angels in heaven in worship, in the celestial holy of holies.[58]

Alexander stresses that although the Songs are descriptive, it would be "a fundamental mistake to see them as purely literary." These texts are liturgical, and "meant to be performed, and it is this performance that makes them active and transformative. Through communal chanting the descriptions are appropriated and internalized, engendering an altered state of consciousness in which the worshippers on earth feel they have become one with the angels in heaven."[59] In the Songs, the term "holy ones" can refer to both humans and angels,[60] and those who are holy, the holiest of the holy ones are described as praising God, the "king of Holiness." In the words of Nitzan, the holiness in these songs is "the holiness of the heavenly sanctuary and of its servants, who sound the praises of God."[61]

Berakhot is another liturgical work from Qumran. It contains a series of blessings and curses that are recited by the *Yahad* (4Q286 7ii 1). In addition, the composition contains a series of laws that interpret Lev 19:17–18. Several passages indicate that the work had a ceremonial function in the community.[62] It has been suggested that the *Berakhot* was used in an annual covenantal ceremony of the Qumran movement.[63] The text displays a strong dichotomy between God and Belial and as a consequence a clear separation between the members of the *Yahad* and the sinners. The work contains an eschatological vision of the complete dissipation of wickedness.[64]

E. G. Chazon, B. Halpern-Amaru, and R. A. Clements; STDJ 88; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 215–35.

[58] Ibid., 227–28.

[59] Ibid., 225–26. Similarly Daniel Falk, who states that songs nine to thirteen are formulated to create an ecstatic mood; see Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers* (STDJ 27; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 131.

[60] Cf. 4Q403 1i 31 (holy people), 4Q405 23i 8 (holy angels), 4Q403 1i 44 (holy spirits).

[61] Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*, 369.

[62] For example, "[F]urther they shall bless the God" (4Q286 7i 8) or "the council of the Community, all of them will say together: Amen, Amen" (4Q286 7ii 1).

[63] Cf. "year after year in orde[r]" (4Q287 4 1).

[64] Bilha Nitzan, "Berakhot," in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. L. H. Schiffman and J. C. VanderKam; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) 1:93–94.

Despite the relatively small amount of text, the sacred is very intensively present in this composition. In many cases, the things called holy are parallel to "glorious" (*kābôd*), such as God's holy walkway (*midrāk*, 4Q286 1ii 1) and God's holy name (4Q286 2 4; 4Q287 3 1; cf. 4Q286 7i 7; 4Q287 2 8). Furthermore, the conceptual realm of the attributes "shining" (*zōhar*) and "wondrous" (*tip'eret*) parallels that of the "holy," as one can observe in the list that describes "the foundations of God's glorious chariots" in 4Q286 1ii 4. All of these examples represent the first aspect of the category of the sacred presented above, which is the divinity, God himself. Also, the reference to holy *'ēṣâ* in 4Q286 1ii 7 should be understood as a reference to the counsel of God rather than a human agent, since it is parallel with "true foundation" and the "storehouse of understanding," which are usually associated with God. Thus, the divine realm is strongly present in the composition. The presence of the divine is amplified by the presence of holy spirits (4Q287 2 5; cf. 2 7), who are a part of the congregation (4Q289 1 5).[65] It is not stated explicitly, but apparently these holy spirits are the same as the righteous angels (4Q287 2 13). Holy spirit (in sg.) referring to God's spirit occurs in the phrase "[…] against the anointed of [His] hol[y] spirit […]" (4Q287 10 13). Unfortunately the text is too fragmentary to determine who the anointed ones are.

It is remarkable that the practical aspects of cult and liturgy are barely mentioned in the *Berakhot*: for example priestly vestments or sacrifices are not mentioned. The holy ministers (4Q287 2 9) could be interpreted as priests, but they could just as well be other members of the congregation, those who are reciting the blessings. The idea of sacred time is present (holy weeks are mentioned in 4Q286 1ii 9), and the idea of creation is present throughout the whole text (holy firmament in 4Q287 2 6; holiness of the creation, cf. 4Q286 6 1; 4Q287 3 2–4; 4Q289 2 1). The sacred represented in these examples is the holiness of things established by God.

[65] Evidently, the whole context in the *Berakhot* supports the idea that the spirits are present in the congregation, although in 4Q289 1 5 the text is only partially preserved as "holy [angels] are in the midst of all [their congregation]." Cf. also CD 15:17; 1QSa II 8–9.

The role of those who are created is to praise and celebrate God. The blessings are also the key to understanding the sacred in the text. Holy God and things belonging to him are the object and recipients of the blessings. On the other side are the wicked ones—i.e., Belial and those who are plotting against the covenant of God—they are the object of curses. Thus, the liturgy is an embodiment of a strong dichotomy: either one belongs to the holy *Yahad* or the council of wickedness (4Q289 1 1), with nothing in between these two extremes.[66] In a manner similar to using "holy" as an identity term, the blessings and curses function to construct the positive identity of the "ingroup" in contrast to "the others."[67]

In both of these texts, the sacred sphere that is in essence the sphere of the divine, and the symbolic boundary between sacred and profane is crossed through ritual activities. The holy is an active presence in the community, and it can be engaged with in performance of liturgical practice. In the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, it almost seems as if the boundary between the two worlds dissolves, but at the same time, the ritual ensures that the boundary is maintained.[68] In the *Berakhot*, on the other hand, the boundary between the two worlds is something more concrete, as the discourse on the sacred is used to build up the identity of the group: the border line is between "us" and "the others."

Conclusions

After this investigation, is it possible to obtain a common denominator for things and persons called holy in the Qumran texts? What constitutes the "sacred" when reconstructed with the textual evidence?

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[66] Nitzan, "Berakhot," 93; eadem, "4QBerakhot (4Q286–290): A Preliminary Report," *New Qumran Texts and Studies: Proceedings of the First Meeting of the International Organisation for Qumran Studies Paris 1992* (ed. G. J. Brooke; STDJ 15; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 53–71, esp. 71.
[67] For the function of blessings and curses in identity formation, see the recent study of Elisa Uusimäki on 4Q525 (4QBeatitudes); Uusimäki, "Turning Proverbs towards Torah: 4Q525 in the Context of Late Second Temple Wisdom Literature" (Ph.D. diss., University of Helsinki, 2013), 201–8.
[68] See also Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms*, 38.

At the core of the category of the "sacred/holy" at Qumran is the divine, first and foremost God and his divine realm with its holy beings. Holiness spreads from the core through a relation with the divine or chosenness by the divinity. Places, people, and objects receive their sacredness through a relationship and association with the deity. Holy times, spiritual beings, holy societies, the law, the creation, and the covenant all originate from or are selected by God.

Importantly, separation does not seem to be emphasized as a primary feature for the category of sacred in the Qumran texts.[69] In the first place, sacred things are not sacred because they are separated from the profane, but because of their affiliation with God. For example, the Sabbath is holy because it is appointed by and dedicated to God, and therefore different from the other days; the society is holy when set apart through God's choice, which implies that it is distinguished and different from the others. The same holds true for sacrificial material, the covenant, the festivals as well as other holy things studied here. Still, it is justified to see separation as related to the sacred, but perhaps as a secondary rather than a primary characteristic. We would rather suggest that from the *emic* point of view, something is first associated with God and the divine sphere, and thus is defined as holy. This association only secondarily causes separation. However, the practices and behavioral rules implementing the separation are those sacred-making practices that for their part maintain the category of the holy and make it identifiable and recognizable both for insiders and outsiders. The sacred at Qumran has a strong communal aspect (cf. Durkheim), and it is constructed, lived, and celebrated with choices and habits that accentuate the sacred. The sacred-making practices of the worshipping community create the sacred space and time. The human community interacts with the divine sphere through cult and ritual, even mysticism, and the passing of secular time is punctuated by recurring sacred times and festivals (such as the Sabbath), which are regulated with the liturgical cycle (cal-

[69] *Contra* Anttonen; see n. 26.

endar). The sacred comes into existence through human discourse, interactions, decisions, and practices.

A picture that emerges from the examples of the usage of *qdš* reveals that the category of sacred in the texts from Qumran is strongly related to God and the divine, and to institutions established by God, covenant and temple in particular. The concept of sacred is interlocked with the divine sphere, which could also be referred to as the transcendent (angels, God, God's spirit). The *Yahad* is holy since it believes itself to be chosen by God and therefore wishes to separate itself from other, ungodly people. The discourse on sacred can be used for identity construction, and the holy as an identity defining marker.

Thinking back to the theories of sacred: the experience of a "supernatural" or "transcendent other" and the existence of "another world," identified as and linked to a category of the sacred in the texts from Qumran, were criticized as the weaknesses of the phenomenological approach to religion. Regardless, for the people who authored, studied and performed these texts, the superhuman world seems to be a reality. For the people at Qumran, God and the supernatural were part of their worldview and their understanding of humanity. The concept of God is not merely a theoretical question, but the relationship to God is a practical issue. It was demonstrated and lived through ritual, correct halakhic practices and the right calendar, which all reflect the relationship to God. For the Qumran movement, from the insider perspective, the sacred manifests itself in the liturgy and the members communicate between the immanent and transcendent worlds through ritual, as was apparent in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*. Liturgy, ritual and mysticism are ways of surpassing the boundary between the human world and that of the divine. Importantly, mysticism was a legitimate mode of the divine encounter. The Qumranites did not satisfy themselves with merely observing the divine sphere from a distance, but wished to participate in it.

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Applying Traditional Methods to Fresh Texts

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The *Temple Scroll* as Evidence for Editorial Processes of the Pentateuch

Introduction

The *Temple Scroll* provides significant evidence about the editorial processes of the Hebrew Scriptures. Although the *Temple Scroll* did not become part of the Hebrew canon, its evidence cannot be neglected, for the canon is a later construct that should not play a role in seeking to understand how the texts of the Hebrew Scriptures were formed and edited. The boundary between the so-called canonical and non-canonical texts is artificial unless one specifically investigates the canon and its formation.

The evidence from the *Temple Scroll* is particularly important for the editorial processes since it provides documented evidence of how law texts of the Pentateuch could be edited at a late stage when they were already widely regarded as authoritative and of divine origin.[1] It is

[1] The origins of the *Temple Scroll* (preserved in manuscripts 11Q19, 11Q20, and possibly also in 4Q524; it is uncertain whether 4Q365a and 11Q21 are related) are controversial, but there is a general consensus on its dating as well as on its source texts. The main sources being in the Pentateuch, the book is often dated to the 2nd century B.C.E.; see Yigael Yadin, *The Temple Scroll* (3 vols; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1983), 1:386–90; Simone Paganini, *"Nichts darfst Du zu diesen Wörtern etwas hinzufügen": Die Rezeption des Deuteronomiums in der Tempelrolle: Sprache, Autoren, Hermeneutik* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2009), 265–71; Sidnie White Crawford, *The Temple Scroll and Related Texts* (Companion to the Qumran Scrolls 2; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 24–26. It would thus bear

often assumed that the Pentateuch had already reached such a position by the 2nd century B.C.E. and that therefore editorial changes to its texts were limited. Representing a further development and a revision of the Pentateuch, the *Temple Scroll* runs counter to this assumption. Moreover, it stands to reason that editorial processes similar to those that took place in the *Temple Scroll* in relation to its sources in the Pentateuch had taken place earlier in the formation of pentateuchal texts. The *Temple Scroll* thus provides significant models for editorial changes that should be of considerable interest to redaction criticism that seeks to reconstruct editorial processes in cases where documented evidence is missing. The importance of the *Temple Scroll* is underlined by the fact that documented evidence for the transmission of the Pentateuch is otherwise limited. As other exceptions, one should mention the Samaritan Pentateuch and the text-critical variants in the LXX and other witnesses. Together they complement each other to gain a more comprehensive view of the editorial changes that have been made to the law texts of the Hebrew Scriptures.

The significance of the evidence from the *Temple Scroll* is not diminished by the fact that it represents a different literary composition than the source text to which it is compared. There are many texts in the Pentateuch itself that are new literary compositions in relation to their textual predecessors. From the perspective of editorial changes, the relationship between the *Temple Scroll* and the Pentateuch is not unlike that of Deuteronomy and the Covenant Code. Deuteronomy was prob-

witness to the editorial processes and techniques during this time. The possible 2nd century B.C.E. dating does not exclude the possibility that some sections were written earlier and that some sections were added and edited later. For example, many scholars, such as Florentino García Martínez, "Sources et rédaction du Rouleau du Temple," *Hen* 13 (1991): 219–32, and idem, "Temple Scroll," in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. J. C. VanderKam and L. H. Schiffman; 2 Volumes; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 2:927–33, here p. 929, assume that another source is behind the so-called festival calendar in 11QT[a] 13:8–30:2, which, on the basis of various literary connections, is dependent on the Pentateuch. García Martinez assumes various other documents behind the *Temple Scroll*. For further discussion, see also Andrew M. Wilson and Lawrence Wills, "Literary Sources of the Temple Scroll," *HTR* 75 (1982): 275–88; Michael Wise, *A Critical Study of the Temple Scroll from Qumran Cave 11* (SAOC 49; Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1990), 110; and White Crawford, *The Temple Scroll*, 49–50.

ably written as a reaction, correction, and perhaps even as a replacement of the Covenant Code. Deuteronomy takes up several laws in the Covenant Code and updates them to correspond with a new ideological setting.[2] To understand texts where the prehistory of the text is undocumented, it could be useful to assume that some editorial stages in their prehistories were analogous to those of new compositions.

Despite the evident relevance of the *Temple Scroll*, pentateuchal scholarship has rarely sought to find models of editing for the Pentateuch in the *Temple Scroll*. With some earlier exceptions,[3] it is not before recent scholarship that adequate attention has been given to this document with this aim in view, and the impetus has come not from the pentateuchal discussion itself but from investigations focused on editorial processes, documented evidence, and/or Qumran scholarship.[4] The fact that the *Temple Scroll* was not included in the Hebrew canon may also have contributed to its exclusion as relevant evidence.

That the *Temple Scroll* should be seen as part of the same literary tradition and continuum as the rest of the Pentateuch is suggested by the fact that it uses the Pentateuch as a source and model to form yet another revelation spoken by Yahweh on Mount Sinai. It replicates what the author of Deuteronomy successfully attempted some centuries earlier. Both documents sought to imitate earlier revelations with the additional insinuation that the new text would be even more authoritative than the older one. While most of the Pentateuch refers to Yahweh in the third person with Moses as the mediator, the *Temple Scroll* is

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[2] See, for example, Exod 22:15–16 and Deut 22:28–29; Exod 23:6–8 and Deut 16:18–19; Exod 23:19 and Deut 26:1–2. Although there are evident connections some of which can only be explained by assuming a literary dependency, the exact relationship between the Covenant Code and Deuteronomy is still unclear.

[3] Thus Stephen A. Kaufman, "The Temple Scroll and Higher Criticism," *HUCA* 53 (1982): 29–43, who has noted (p. 29) that "The compositional techniques used by the author of the Temple Scroll constitute an almost perfect parallel to the composition of the Pentateuch as envisaged by higher criticism—a parallel, moreover, from the same literary tradition. This provides us the opportunity to test the methods of higher criticism empirically…"

[4] Molly M. Zahn, "New Voices, Ancient Words: *The Temple Scroll*'s Reuse of the Bible," in *Temple and Worship in Biblical Israel* (ed. J. Day; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2005), 436–58; David M. Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible: A New Reconstruction* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

presented as a direct speech by the divinity to Israel. This gives the impression of a more direct revelation than the one transmitted and written down by Moses, which is the main form implied in the Pentateuch. This suggests that the author of the *Temple Scroll*—unlike the authors of some other new compositions such as *Jubilees*—did not give priority to the Pentateuch, but more probably sought to override it and present an entirely new and more authoritative version.[5] In this respect the *Temple Scroll* relates to the Pentateuch in a similar way as the Deuteronomy relates to the Covenant Code. This is also suggested by the fact that parts of the *Temple Scroll* are almost identical (e.g., 11QT[a] 51:11–66) or only slightly corrected versions of the source law.[6] The replication of the older laws would not have been necessary if the *Temple Scroll* was merely intended as a supplement, for in that case the older law would have been available in the original document. One should also note that the *Temple Scroll* does not refer to any other revelation that might be given precedence. Here it differs from *Jubilees* that refers to a "First Torah" (התורה הרשונה) (*Jub*. 2:24)[7] and to the "Book of the First Law" (*Jub*. 6:22), which implies that the new literary work is secondary. The *Temple Scroll* is written as a coherent and independent literary

[5] Against many, e.g., Yadin, *The Temple Scroll*, 1:390–92, and Hartmut Stegemann, "The Literary Composition of the Temple Scroll," in *Temple Scroll Studies* (ed. G. J. Brooke; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1989), 123–48, here p. 127; George J. Brooke, "The Temple Scroll: A Law Unto Itself?" in *Law and Religion: Essays on the Place of the Law in Israel and Early Christianity* (ed. B. Lindars; Cambridge: James Clarke, 1988), 36–40, here pp. 41–42 and Zahn, "New Voices, Ancient Words: *The Temple Scroll*'s Reuse of the Bible," 452. However, Ben Zion Wacholder, *The Dawn of Qumran: The Sectarian Torah and the Teacher of Righteousness* (Cincinnati, Ohio: Hebrew Union College Press, 1983), 1–32, assumes that the author of the *Temple Scroll* intended it to be "a copy of Torah which God had ordained to Moses on Mount Sinai" (p. 33). Simone Paganini, "*Nichts darfst Du*," 298–301, has suggested that the *Temple Scroll* was intended as an "anti-Deuteronomy" that sought to correct the Pentateuch.

[6] That the author of the *Temple Scroll* could adopt parts of the Pentateuch unchanged implies that he did not mean his own work as a supplement or interpretation of the Pentateuch. He confidently adopted sections that he found to be correct almost unchanged, and changed others if he saw them as incorrect. Had the *Temple Scroll* been meant as a supplement or interpretation, the text would not repeat several sections from the Pentateuch almost verbatim. For example, *Jubilees* rarely follows the source very closely and often provides additional stories in what seems to be a supplement to Genesis-Exodus.

[7] The term התורה הרשונה is partially reconstructed on the basis of 4Q216 (l. 17): התורה הרש]ונה.

work that is not dependent on any other revelation that should be read in order to understand it. Consequently, the author seems to have been confident that his text was more authentic than the Pentateuch, which he effectively sought to suppress and replace.[8] This is highlighted by the bold adoption of Deut 13:1 (par 4:2) in 11QT[a] 54:5–7, which explicitly prohibited any changes to the text:

11QT[a] 54:5–7	Deut 13:1[9]
כל הדברים אשר אנוכי מצוכה היום [אותכה] תשמר לעשות לוא־תוסיף עליהמה ולוא תגרע מהמה	את כל הדבר אשר אנכי מצוה אתכם אתו תשמרו לעשות לא־תסף עליו ולא תגרע ממנו
All the words that I command you (sg.) today, you (sg.) must diligently observe; do not add (sg.) to them or take anything from them.	Every word that I command you (pl.), you (pl.) must diligently observe; do not add (sg.) to it or take anything from it.

The author of the *Temple Scroll* thus defied the prohibition in Deuteronomy, but used the same sentences to prohibit changes to his new version of the divine revelation, which was now presented as final and unalterable.

This is not to say that the author of the *Temple Scroll* would not have regarded the Pentateuch as an authoritative text. In fact, since the Pentateuch was the main textual source, he clearly assumed it to possess considerable authority. Otherwise it could not have functioned as the starting point for writing a new text that was presented as divine revelation. This is again corroborated by the almost verbatim use of several laws in the Pentateuch, which the author apparently regarded as valid. In this respect the author related to his source in a way not unlike the way the author of Chronicles related to his sources. In many cases the

[8] Many scholars assume that the *Temple Scroll* was intended as an authoritative revelation or a new Torah. Thus, for example, Zahn, "New Voices," 452–55. However, it is more debated whether the *Temple Scroll* was intended as a replacement for the Pentateuch.

[9] The NRSV has been used as the basis translation in this paper, but in some cases the sentence has been slightly changed. The LORD has been systematically changed to Yahweh. The *Temple Scroll*, when it parallels a text in the Hebrew Bible, also follow the NRSV. In the sections without a parallel the translation is mine, unless otherwise indicated.

Chronicler copied his source almost word for word, while in passages where the source texts contained something theologically offensive or unacceptable, the Chronicler could resort to extensive changes in the context and text. However, the author of Deuteronomy seems to have had less respect for the Covenant Code since he hardly ever follows his source. It has to be added here that it is still not fully clear whether the similarities and parallels between Deuteronomy and the Covenant Code are due to a direct literary relationship.[10]

Variety of Editorial Techniques

The *Temple Scroll* provides evidence for a variety of editorial techniques in relation to the source text. It appears that in several passages the author(s)[11] of the *Temple Scroll* followed the pentateuchal sources very closely, while in others he could rewrite by omitting several sections and adding texts that had no parallel in the source. The following sections take up typical cases that illustrate various techniques of editing the source text. Although it is necessary to discuss the content and context of the texts in question, the main perspective will be to understand what these cases tell us about the editorial processes of the Hebrew Scriptures and their authoritative law texts in particular.

[10] See n. 2.

[11] Because of the focus, it is not necessary to determine whether the text in question was written by the main author of the *Temple Scroll*, a later editor, or an author of an unknown source text that the author of the *Temple Scroll* used. All cases show the possibilities of editorial changes that were utilized in the Second Temple period.

Faithful Renderings of Pentateuchal Laws in the *Temple Scroll* (11QT[a] 55:15–21/Deut 17:2–5 and 11QT[a] 54:8–18/Deut 13:2–6)

There are several passages in the *Temple Scroll* where the source text in the Pentateuch was rendered faithfully. This is particularly evident in 11QT[a] 51:11–66, sometimes called the Deuteronomic paraphrase,[12] where the source text in Deuteronomy was often followed almost word for word. *Temple Scroll* 55:15–21 is a prime example, as it has a very close parallel in Deut 17:2–5:

Deut 17:2–5	11QT[a] 55:15–21
[2] כי־ימצא בקרבך באחד שעריך אשר־ יהוה אלהיך נתן לך איש או־אשה אשר יעשה את־הרע בעיני יהוה־אלהיך לעבר בריתו	[15] אם ימצא בקרבכה באחד שעריכה אשר [16] אנוכי נותן לכה איש או־אישה אשר יעשה את הרע בעיני [17] לעבר בריתי
[3] וילך ויעבד אלהים אחרים וישתחו להם ולשמש או לירח או לכל־צבא השמים אשר לא־צויתי [4] והגד־לך ושמעת ודרשת היטב והנה אמת נכון הדבר נעשתה התועבה הזאת בישראל [5] והוצאת את־האיש ההוא או את־האשה ההוא אשר עשו את־הדבר הרע הזה אל־שעריך את־האיש או את־האשה וסקלתם באבנים ומתו	והלך ועבד אלוהים אחרים וישתחו להמה [18] או לשמש או לירח או לכול צבא השמים והגידו לכה עליו [19] ושמעתה את הדבר הזה ודרשתה וחקרתה היטב והנה [20] אמת נכון הדבר נעשתה התועבה הזאת בישראל והוצאתה [21] את האיש ההוא או את האשה ההיא וסקלתמה באבנים
[2] If there is found among you, in one of your towns that Yahweh your God is giving you, [3] a man or woman who does what is evil in the sight of Yahweh your God, and transgresses his covenant by going to serve other gods and	[15] If there is found among you, in one of your towns that [16] I am giving you, a man or woman who does what is evil in my sight [17] and transgresses my covenant by going to serve other gods and

[12] Thus Lawrence H. Schiffman, "The Deuteronomic Paraphrase of the *Temple Scroll*," *RevQ* 15 (1992): 543–68.

worshiping them—[18] whether the sun or the moon or any of the host of heaven—	worshiping them—whether the sun or the moon or any of the host of heaven, which I have forbidden—
and if it is reported to you [19] or you hear about this case inquire and investigate carefully,	[4] and if it is reported to you or you hear of it, inquire carefully,
[20] and the charge is proved true that such an abhorrent thing has occurred in Israel,	and the charge is proved true that such an abhorrent thing has occurred in Israel,
then you shall bring out	[5] then you shall bring out to your gates that man or that woman
[21] that man or that woman	who has committed this crime man or a woman
and stone (them) with stones.	and stone with stones to death.

The most substantial difference between Deut 17:2–5 and 11QT[a] 55:15–21 is the plus אשר עשו את־הדבר הרע הזה אל־שעריך את־האיש או את־האשה ("to your gates … who has committed this crime man or a woman") in Deut 17:5. It is probable that the plus is a later addition to Deut 17:5 and that the author of 11QT[a] 55:15–21 used a version of Deuteronomy that did not yet contain the plus. This is suggested by the fact that it is also missing in the LXX*.[13] Moreover the plus is unnecessary for the law as it adds no crucial information; it merely emphasizes the severity of the crime and awkwardly repeats the words את־האיש או את־האשה. From the technical perspective, the law is fully consistent even without the plus and grammatically less awkward.[14]

A similar explanation is probable for the lacking אשר לא־צויתי in 11QT[a] 55:15–21. While the rest of Deut 17:2–5 refers to Yahweh in the third person, this clause refers to him in the first person. Moreover, the relative clause is unnecessary and even disturbs the context. It should be evident that Yahweh has not commanded the Israelites to

[13] It is apparent that the *Temple Scroll* is more closely affiliated with the textual tradition of the LXX than with that of the MT. Thus, for example, Johann Maier, *The Temple Scroll* (JSOTSup 34; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985), 3.

[14] One should not completely exclude the possibility that the section was accidentally omitted due to the repetition of את־האיש או את־האשה, but it is nonetheless probable that the section is a later addition.

worship the astral bodies. It is also unlikely that the author of the *Temple Scroll* would have omitted this reference because it runs counter to his common tendency to change the third person references to Yahweh to the first person. Deuteronomy 17:5 contains a further plus: ומתו. This may be a clarifying addition. Although the preceding verb already implies death to the offenders, a later editor may have sought to be explicitly clear. Alternatively, it was omitted in the *Temple Scroll* for stylistic reasons, although this may be less likely than an addition in the Masoretic text. Consequently, it is probable that in all of these three cases where Deut 17:2–7 contains a plus, 11QT[a] 55:15–21 preserves a more original reading, which implies that its author followed an earlier version of the text, and that the Masoretic text was expanded at a later stage. This also means that in these cases the author of the *Temple Scroll* used his source text more faithfully than the later editors of the Masoretic text, who made three expansions to the text.

Nevertheless, 11QT[a] 55:15–21 contains some intentional changes as well. In accordance with his typical tendency, the author of the *Temple Scroll* refers to Yahweh in the first person in contrast to the third person of the source (e.g., יהוה אלהיך in Deut 17:2 > אנוכי in 11QT[a] 55:15; the same effect is gained by omitting the second reference to יהוה־אלהיך in Deut 17:2). The other intentional changes are orthographical, mainly minor stylistic or equivalent alterations (such as the change of כי to אם), and clarifications (for example, the addition of עליו and את הדבר הזה in 11QT[a] 55:19). One should also note the clarifying addition of וחקרתה ("explore," "search"), which is partly synonymous with the preceding verb דרש ("enquire," "search," "investigate").

The comparison between Deut 17:2–5 and 11QT[a] 55:15–21 shows a case where the author of the *Temple Scroll* followed his source faithfully. It could even be argued that the Masoretic tradition was less faithful since it was later inflated by two or three additions, one of which is substantial (Deut 17:5).

Deuteronomy 13:2–6 instructs the Israelites to be wary of prophets and dreamers of dreams who incite the Israelites to worship foreign

gods. With the exception of minor stylistic changes and the change of the third person reference to Yahweh (**אנוכי > יהוה אלהיכם**),[15] the author of 11QT[a] 54:8–18 follows the passage in Deuteronomy very closely:

11QT[a] 54:8–18	Deut 13:2–6
[8] אם יקום בקרבכה נביא או חולם חלום	[2] כי־יקום בקרבך נביא או חלם חלום
ונתן אליכה אות או [9] מופת	ונתן אליך אות או מופת
ובא אליכה האות [א]והמופת אשר דבר	[3] ובא האות והמופת אשר־דבר
אליכה לאמור	אליך לאמר
[10] נלכה ונעבודה אלוהים אחרים אשר	נלכה אחרי אלהים אחרים אשר
לוא ידעתמה לוא [11] תשמע אל דבר	לא־ידעתם ונעבדם [4] לא תשמע אל־דברי
הנביא ההוא או לחולם החלום ההואה כי	הנביא ההוא או אל־חולם החלום ההוא כי
[12] מנשה אנוכי אתכמה לדעת הישכם	מנסה יהוה אלהיכם אתכם לדעת הישכם
אוהבים את יהוה [13] אלהי אבותיכמה	אהבים את־יהוה אלהיכם
בכול לבבכם ובכול נפשכמה	בכל־לבבכם ובכל־נפשכם
אחרי יהוה [14] אלוהיכמה תלכון ואותו	[5] אחרי יהוה אלהיכם תלכו ואתו תיראו
תעבודון ואותו תיראו	ואת־מצותיו תשמרו ובקלו תשמעו
ובקולו תשמעון [15] ובו תדבקון	ואתו תעבדו ובו תדבקון
והנביא ההוא או חולם החלום יומת	[6] והנביא ההוא או חלם החלום ההוא יומת
כי דבר סרה [16] על יהוה אלוהיכמה אשר	כי דבר־סרה על־יהוה אלהיכם
הוציאכה מארץ מצרים ופדיתיכה	המוציא אתכם מארץ מצרים והפדך
[17] מבית עבדים להדיחכה	מבית עבדים להדיחך
מן הדרך אשר צויתכה ללכת בה	מן־הדרך אשר צוך יהוה אלהיך ללכת בה
ובערת [18] הרע מקרבכה	ובערת הרע מקרבך

[8] If a prophet or diviner appears among you and promises you omens or [9] portents, and the omens or the portents declared by him takes place (to you), and he says, [10] "Let us follow and serve other gods"—whom you have not known

you must not [11] heed the words of that

[2] If a prophet or diviner appears among you and promises you omens or portents, [3] and the omens or the portents declared by him takes place, and he says, "Let us follow other gods"—whom you have not known—"and let us serve them,"

[4] you must not heed the words of that

[15] However, in this passage the author of the *Temple Scroll* does not seem to have been very consistent with the form of the speech. Third person references to Yahweh as well as verbs in the third person in reference to Yahweh have been left in the text. The reason for this inconsistency may be that the change would have necessitated a thorough revision of parts of the law.

prophet or diviner; for [12] I am testing you, to know whether you indeed love Yahweh the God of your fathers with all your heart and soul. Yahweh [14] your God you shall follow, him you shall serve, him you shall fear, his voice you shall obey, [15] and to him you shall hold fast. But that prophet or diviner shall be put to death for having spoken treason against [16] Yahweh your God —who brought you (sg.) [17] out of the land of Egypt and redeemed you from the house of slavery— to turn you from the way in which I commanded you to walk. So you shall purge [18] the evil from your midst.	prophet or diviner; for Yahweh your God is testing you, to know whether you indeed love Yahweh your God with all your heart and soul. [5] Yahweh your God you shall follow, him alone you shall fear, his commandments you shall keep, his voice you shall obey, him you shall serve, and to him you shall hold fast. [6] But that prophet or that diviner shall be put to death for having spoken treason against Yahweh your God —who brought you (pl.) out of the land of Egypt and redeemed you from the house of slavery— to turn you from the way in which Yahweh your God commanded you to walk. So you shall purge the evil from your midst.

There are several minor changes, none of which has a crucial impact on the passage's meaning. The author of 11QT[a] 54:8–18 relocated ונעבדם and omitted the suffix. The reason for this operation was its rather awkward position in the source text,[16] which was polished in the *Temple Scroll*. Because of the change, the word אחרי was also omitted, as עבד does not need the preposition. The awkwardness in Deut 13:3 may have been caused by the earlier addition of ונעבדם. Another minor stylistic change is found at the beginning of the passage: The word כי in Deut 13:2 was changed to אם in 11QT[a] 54:8 (cf. also 11QT[a] 55:15 and Deut 17:2). The exhortations to follow Yahweh are in a slightly different order in the two texts in what may also be a minor stylistic change in the *Temple Scroll*. It is more logical to list following and serving

[16] ונעבדם hangs loosely at the end of the sentence after all the other sentence constituents have already been presented. The apparent awkwardness is shown by the fact that the author of the *Temple Scroll* relocated and integrated it better with the context.

Yahweh in that order as in the *Temple Scroll*, which implies that Deuteronomy is more original here. These changes indicate that the author of the 11QT[a] 54:8–18 could change his source text for stylistic reasons.

The words ואת־מצותיו תשמרו in Deut 13:5 lack a parallel in 11QT[a] 54:8–18. The plus may have been added later in the textual tradition of the MT, for additional exhortations to keep the commandments could easily have been added to a list that contains various exhortations to follow and serve Yahweh. In this case the *Temple Scroll* would contain the older reading, and in view of several plusses in Deut 17:2–5 in comparison with 11QT[a] 55:15–21, where the latter also follows Deuteronomy very closely, this alternative is quite likely. It would also be difficult to explain why the author of 11QT[a] 55:15–21 might have omitted an exhortation to follow the law. In spite of some changes in 11QT[a] 54:8–18, the source text was rather faithfully rendered. The changes are small and inconsequential. There are similar examples of the rather faithful rendering of a pentateuchal text in the *Temple Scroll*, but for the purposes of this paper it is necessary to discuss other types of relationships as well.

The Amalgamation of Two Pentateuchal Laws on Pagan Mourning Practices in 11QT[a] 48:7–10

The *Temple Scroll* 48:7–10 prohibits the Israelites from following pagan mourning practices. The passage is clearly dependent on Deut 14:1–2 and Lev 19:28, as shown by the following parallels:[17]

Deut 14:1–2 and Lev 19:28	11QT[a] 48:7–11
[14.1] בנים אתם ליהוה אלהיכם	[7] ... בנים אתמה [8] ליהוה אלהיכמה
לא תתגדדו	לוא תתגדדו
ולא־תשימו קרחה בין עיניכם למת	ולוא תשימו קורחה בין עיניכמה [9] למת
[19.28] ושרט לנפש לא תתנו בבשרכם	ושרטת על נפש לוא תתנו בבשרכמה

[17] On the basis of a similar theme, Yadin, *The Temple Scroll*, 1:341–42, and Maier, *Temple Scroll*, 119, have suggested that Lev 21:5 was also used here, but there is no clear parallel in the vocabulary: לא־יקרחה(ו) קרחה בראשם ופאת זקנם לא יגלחו ובבשרם לא ישרטו שרטת.

וכתבת קעקע לא תתנו בכם אני יהוה
[14.2] כי עם קדוש אתה ליהוה אלהיך
ובך בחר יהוה להיות לו לעם סגלה מכל
העמים אשר על־פני האדמה

[14:1] You are children of Yahweh your God.
You must not lacerate yourselves or shave
your forelocks for the dead.

[19:28] You shall not make any gashes in your
flesh for the dead or put any writings upon
you (your flesh): I am Yahweh
[14:2] For you are a people holy to Yahweh
your (sg) God;
it is you Yahweh has chosen out of all the
peoples on earth to be his people, his
treasured possession.

וכתבת קעקע לוא תכתובו [10] בכמה
כי עם קדוש אתם ליהוה אלוהיכהמה
ולוא תטמאו את [11] ארצכמה ...

[7] You are children [8] of Yahweh your
God. You must not lacerate
yourselves or shave your forelocks
for the dead.
You shall not make any gashes in
your flesh [9] for the dead or write any
writings upon you (your flesh):
For you are a people holy to
Yahweh your (pl.) God.
And you shall not defile your
land …

The passage is a good example of how two laws in different parts of the Pentateuch were amalgamated into one in the *Temple Scroll*. Underlining the amalgamation, the text of Lev 19:28 was placed between Deut 14:1 and 2.[18] The reason for combining these laws is apparent. Both deal with rituals for the dead that were (then) regarded as non-Jewish. The resulting text in the *Temple Scroll* appears coherent and seamless, and without access to the sources in Deut 14 and Lev 19 it would be very difficult to determine on the basis of 11QT[a] 48:7–11 that the text was written on the basis of two different passages. Apart from the merger of two laws, the use of the sources in 11QT[a] 48:7–11 is rather faithful because, with the exception of some minor changes, both Deut 14:1–2a and Lev 19:28 were used verbatim in 11QT[a] 48:7–10. However, 11QT[a] 48:7–10 is followed by related warnings and laws many of which have no unambiguous parallels in the Pentateuch. For example a

[18] According to Dwight D. Swanson, *The Temple Scroll and the Bible* (STDJ 14; Leiden and Boston: Brill, 1994), 176–77, Deuteronomy was the base text into which other texts were incorporated. Against his general tendency, he neglected the first person speech by Yahweh used in Lev 19:28 and followed the third person of Deut 14:1–2. On the other hand, the reason for this omission may be stylistic, as the nominal sentence אני יהוה has no evident function in the verse.

parallel warning against defiling the land in 11QT[a] 48:11 finds no exact parallel in the Pentateuch, although elements of the topic are met in various passages (e.g., Lev 18:24–30; Deut 14:2; Josh 22:19).[19]

Temple Scroll 48:7–10 bears evidence for the tendency to harmonize between pentateuchal laws. In this process, the source texts could be rearranged to fit the new context. Although the source laws were followed faithfully, the author of the new law could also omit parts of the sources, as shown by the omission of Deut 14:2b. This implies that the sources were used as resource material for the new law and there appears to have been no necessity to preserve the full text of the older laws. In other words, although the author of 11QT[a] 48:7–10 was heavily dependent on the two pentateuchal laws, thus assuming them to possess considerable authority, he could omit parts of them as he deemed appropriate for the new context. On the other hand, in the ensuing text in 11QT[a] 48:12–17[20] he could also add new material rather freely, although it was inspired by other texts in the Pentateuch.

Revision of the Passover Law in 11QT[a] 17:6–16

Part of the so-called festival calendar, the law of the Passover is found in 11QT[a] 17:6–16. The Pentateuch contains five versions of the Passover law,[21] thus giving scholarship valuable information about the editorial processes of the Hebrew Scriptures, and 11QT[a] 17:6–16 is a further witness to these processes. Although the passage was influenced by other texts in the Pentateuch as well, the base text of 11QT[a] 17:6–16 appears

[19] See, for example, Jos 22:19: ואך אם־טמאה ארץ אחזתכם עברו לכם אל־ארץ אחזת יהוה אשר שכן שם משכן יהוה.

[20] 11QT[a] 48:12–15: "They bury their dead in every place, they even bury them in the middle of their houses; instead you shall keep places apart within your land where you shall bury your dead. Among four cities you shall establish a place in which to bury. And in every city you shall make places for those contaminated with skin decease, and with sores and with scabies so that they do not enter your cities and defile them…"

[21] Note that the Hebrew Bible contains five versions of the Passover law (Exod 23:15, 18; Exod 34:18, 25; Deut 16:1–8; Lev 23:5–8; Num 28:16–25) which differ considerably from each other. Nevertheless, Lev 23:5–8, Num 28:16–25, and 11QT[a] 17:6–16 portray a similar festival.

to have been Num 28:16–25, as explicitly shown by the repeated parallels:[22]

Num 28:16–25	11QT[a] 17:6–16
[16] ובחדש הראשון בארבעה עשר יום לחדש פסח ליהוה	[6] ... בארבע]ה עשר בחודש הראשון [...
	[7] פסח ליהוה] וזבחו לפני מנחת הערב יזבחו[...] [8] מבן עשרי[ם] שנה ומעלה יעשו ואכלוהו [בלילה] [9] בחצרות [ה]ק[ד]ש והשכימו והלכו איש לאוהלו[...]
[17] ובחמשה עשר יום לחדש הזה	[10] ובחמשה עשר לחודש הזה מקרא קו[דש]
	[11] כול מלאכת עבודה לוא תעשו בו
חג שבעת ימים מצות יאכל	חג המצות שבעת ימים [12] ליהוה
[18] ביום הראשון מקרא־קדש כל־מלאכת עבדה לא תעשו	
[19] והקרבתם אשה עלה ליהוה פרים בני־בקר שנים ואיל אחד ושבעה כבשים בני שנה תמימם יהיו לכם	והקרבתמה בכול יום ויום לשבעת הימים הא[לה] [13] עולה ליהוה פרים שנים ואיל וכבשים בני שנה שבעת
[20] ומנחתם סלת בלולה בשמן שלשה עשרנים לפר ושני עשרנים לאיל תעשו [21] עשרון עשרון תעשה לכבש האחד לשבעת הכבשים	[14] תמימם
[22] ושעיר חטאת אחד לכפר עליכם [23] מלבד עלת הבקר אשר לעלת התמיד תעשו את־אלה	ושעיר עזים אחד לחטאת
[24] כאלה תעשו ליום שבעת ימים לחם אשה ריח־ניחח ליהוה על־עולת התמיד יעשה ונסכו	ומנחתמה ונסכה
[25] וביום השביעי מקרא־קדש יהיה לכם כל־מלאכת עבדה לא תעשו	[15] [כמש]פט לפרים ולאלים ול[כב]שית ולשעיר וביום השביעי [16] [עצרת] ל[יה]וה כול מלאכת עבדה לא תעשו בו

[22] Molly M. Zahn, *Rethinking Rewritten Scripture: Composition and Exegesis in the 4QReworked Pentateuch Manuscripts* (STDJ 95; Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2011), 198–204, has primarily compared 11QT[a] 17:6–16 with Lev 23:5–8. Although Lev 23:5–8 and Num 28:16–25 are extensively similar, the latter contains a large addition in Num 28:19–24. Since the author of 11QT[a] 17:6–16 is clearly familiar with this addition—even if he does not follow the addition in its entirely—he probably used Num 28:16–25 as the primary source. Zahn suggests that the author of the *Temple Scroll* only turned to Num 28 "for the enumeration of the sacrifices."

[6] [… On the four]teenth day of the first month […] is [7] Yhwh's Passover,] and they will sacrifice. Before the evening offering they will sacrifice […Every male] [8] twent[y] years and older shall celebrate and eat it [at night] [9] in the courtyards of the temple, and every one shall rise early and go to his tent […]
And on the fifteenth day of this month is

a ho[ly] convocation:
[11] In it you shall not do no laborious work. It is the feast of leavened breads for seven days [12] for Yahweh. You shall offer every day during these seven days
[13] a burnt offering to Yhwh:
two young bulls, a ram, and seven male lambs a year old, [14] without blemish,

one male goat for a sin offering,

and its grain offerings and drink offering.
[15] [according to the comman]dment for young bulls, rams, [la]mbs, and goat. On the seventh day
[16] will be […] for Yahweh: in it you shall do no laborious work.

[16] On the fourteenth day of the first month is Yhwh's Passover.

[17] And on the fifteenth day of this month is a feast; seven days shall unleavened bread be eaten. [18] On the first day there shall be a holy convocation: you shall do no laborious work,

[19] You shall offer
an offering by fire,
a burnt offering to Yhwh:
two young bulls, one ram, and seven male lambs a year old; without blemish they shall be to you;
[20] also their cereal offering of fine flour mixed with oil; three tenths of an ephah shall you offer for a bull, and two tenths for a ram; [21] a tenth shall you offer for each of the seven lambs;
[22] also one male goat for a sin offering, to make atonement for you.
[23] You shall offer these besides the burnt offering of the morning, which is for a continual burnt offering.
[24] In the same way you shall offer daily, for seven days, the food of an offering by fire, a pleasing odor to Yhwh; it shall be offered besides the continual burnt offering and its drink offering.

[25] And on the seventh day
you shall have a holy convocation:
you shall do no laborious work.

The *Temple Scroll* 17:6–16 portrays a generally similar Passover festival as Num 28:16–25, but repeated changes in relation to the source text are apparent. There are additional instructions without evident parallels in the Pentateuch, some sections paraphrase passages elsewhere in the Pentateuch (e.g., Exod 12:8 and Deut 16:7),[23] or the source text has been shortened or rephrased. For example, 11QT[a] 17:14 generally refers to the grain offerings (מנחה) that should be offered during the feast, while Num 28:20–21 is more specific and mentions the exact offerings that should be offered.[24] According to Num 28:24 one should make the same offerings each day of the festival *and* the holy convocation, but the *Temple Scroll* has left out the unnecessary repetition and only refers to the offering that should be made every day. In this respect 11QT[a] 17:6–16 is more compact than the source.

One should also note some changes in the names of the festival. In the *Temple Scroll* the 15th of the month is called the holy convocation (מקרא־קדש), whereas Num 28:17 refers to the same day as a festival (חג) that will last for four days.[25] That we are not just dealing with a cosmetic change is suggested by the fact that in Num 28 the holy convocation is on the first (v. 18) and seventh (v. 25) days of the week. The author of 11QT[a] 17:6–16 seems to have taken the name of the occasion on the fifteenth day from Num 28:18, but omitted the second holy convocation. Although probably not meant by the author of Num 28:18, these changes made the holy convocation the name of the 15th day.

In addition to Num 28:16–25, the author of 11QT[a] 17:6–16 was dependent on and used Deut 16. The other pentateuchal laws concerning the Passover do not refer to a centralized celebration of the feast, whereas it was a focal point in Deut 16. Since this idea is also met in 11QT[a] 17:6–16, it is probable that the author of 11QT[a] 17:6–16 took Deut 16 into consideration when writing his version of the law. For

[23] Thus Zahn, *Rethinking Rewritten Scripture*, 199–200.
[24] Zahn, *Rethinking Rewritten Scripture*, 202–3, notes that the *Temple Scroll* "always differs from the festival calendar in Numbers 28–29 in the same ways as it does here – – Formally, we could regard this as a condensing paraphrase of Num 28:20–23."
[25] Cf. Lev 23:5–8 where the day is called the festival of unleavened bread (חג המצות).

example, the idea in 11QT[a] 17:8–9 that all Israelite men should come to the sanctuary to celebrate and consume the offerings there was probably influenced by Deut 16:7 and 16. Nonetheless, the author of 11QT[a] 17:6–16 did not adopt any specific sentences from these verses in Deut 16 (בבקר והלכת לאהליך cf. והשכימו והלכו איש לאוהלו) so the influence is only general. The idea that only males who are over 20 years old are allowed to take part in this celebration may have been taken from Exod 30:14, although this verse only refers to the age requirement for sacrifices.[26] On the other hand, the phrase מבן עשרים שנה ומעלה is met in many parts of the Pentateuch.[27]

The comparison between 11QT[a] 17:6–16 and the Passover laws of the Pentateuch shows that 11QT[a] 17:6–16 is a revised version of the youngest version found in the Pentateuch. It is probable that Exod 23:15, 18 represents the earliest version. Exod 34:18, 25 and Deut 16:1–8 are probably dependent on this version. The exact antecedent of Lev 23:5–8 is not certain, but its author was probably familiar with Exod 23:15, 18, and perhaps also with Deut 16:1–8. Num 28:16–25 is clearly dependent on Lev 23:5–8 since it follows this text almost verbatim, but makes a large addition in vv. 19–24.[28] Although outside the Pentateuch, 11QT[a] 17:6–16 represents a further development and refinement of a pentateuchal law. The development of the Pentateuch thus continued outside the Pentateuch itself.[29] In the earlier periods, the laws were updated by making changes to the pentateuchal texts. While the necessity to update the laws continued, it eventually became difficult or forbidden to make changes to the Pentateuch (and later to any text of the Hebrew Bible) itself. Revisions of the Pentateuch thus neces-

[26] Zahn, *Rethinking Rewritten Scripture*, 199–200, has noted that the prescription is "not spelled out in the pentateuchal legislation." Exod 30:14 does not deal with the Passover sacrifice and the verse is also not part of the pentateuchal legislation.

[27] The phrase is met particularly often in Num 1 (dealing with the census), but also, for example, in Exod 38:26; Num 14:19; 26:2, 4; 32:11.

[28] For more discussion, see Juha Pakkala, *God's Word Omitted. Omissions in the Transmission of the Hebrew Bible* (FRLANT 251; Göttingen: Vandehoeck & Ruprecht, 2013), 145–54.

[29] Cf. Neh 10:29–39, which similarly builds on older laws in the Pentateuch but develops them further.

sitated that it continued in other literary works, such as the *Temple Scroll*.

From the perspective of editorial changes, the author of 11QT[a] 17:6–16 used Num 28:16–25 as the base text but could rephrase and change it to a considerable degree in order to update the law to be in harmony with the Passover in Deuteronomy as well as with the author's context. In this process Deut 16 influenced the new version but there are also conceptions that have no parallel in the Pentateuch. The author of 11QT[a] 17:6–16 combined information from various parts of the Pentateuch, partly harmonizing them, but in some cases the new law contains new inventions as well.[30]

The use of the source texts in 11QT[a] 17:6–16 could be characterized as being something between faithful and free. If we compare this law with the formation of the other Passover laws in the Pentateuch, the relationship between 11QT[a] 17:6–16 and its sources is less radical than that of Deut 16:1–8 or Lev 23:5–8 in relation to their sources in Exod 23:15, 18 and Deut 16:1–8.[31] On the other hand, 11QT[a] 17:6–16 relates to his source more freely than Num 28:16–25 to its source text in Lev 23:5–8. The author of Num 28:16–25 has preserved nearly every word of Lev 23:5–8 making a large expansion in Num 28:19aα–24. From the perspective of editorial changes, 11QT[a] 17:6–16 can be said to represent a middle way between radical and conservative positions in the formation of the Passover law.

The Creation of a New Law

The *Temple Scroll* 14:9–15:2 is based on several pentateuchal passages, but the result is an entirely new law that has no exact parallel in the Pentateuch. Because the manuscript is fragmentary, it is not entirely

[30] There are other similar cases as well. See Sidnie White Crawford, *Rewriting Scripture in Second Temple Times* (SDSSRL; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2008), 94, 102, for discussion.

[31] It is unclear whether Lev 23:5–8 was created on the basis of Exod 23:15, 18 only or whether Deut 16:1–8 was also used to form this law.

clear what the law purported to regulate. However, on the basis of similarities with *Jub.* 7:2–5, one may argue that we are dealing with the New Moon of the First Month Festival, unknown in the Pentateuch.[32] Accepting the uncertainties, it is clear that we are dealing with a festival that was celebrated on the first of the month and that necessitated various sacrifices.[33] The main source of influence seems to have been Num 29:1–6, the law on the Festival of the Trumpets, as shown by the parallels:[34]

Num 29:1–6	11QT[a] 14:9–15:2[35]
[1] ובחדש השביעי באחד לחדש מקרא־קדש יהיה לכם כל־מלאכת עבדה לא תעשו יום תרועה יהיה לכם [2] ועשיתם עלה לריח ניחח ליהוה פר בן־בקר אחד איל אחד כבשים בני־שנה שבעה תמימם [3] ומנחתם סלת בלולה בשמן שלשה עשרנים לפר שני עשרנים לאיל [4] ועשרון אחד לכבש האחד לשבעת הכבשים [5] ושעיר־עזים אחד חטאת לכפר עליכם [6] מלבד עלת החדש ומנחתה ועלת התמיד ומנחתה ונסכיהם כמשפטם לריח ניחח אשה ליהוה	[...] [9] ובאחד לחודש ה[...] [10] השנה כול מלאכת ע[בודה ...] [11] לבד הוא יעשה לכמה[...] [12] איל אחד כבשים בנ[י שנה ... לח]טאת [13] מלבד עולת החודש [...ב]לולה [14] במחצית ההין שמן ויין לנסך[...] [15] עשרונים סולת מנחה בל[ולה ... לנס]ך [16] של[ישי]ת ההין לאיל ה[אחד ...] עשרון [17] [...] מנח[ה ב]לול[ה בר]בע ההין שמן [...] [18] [...] האחד [...] כבשים ולשע[יר ...] [15:1] [בכו]ל יום ויום[פר בן בקר אחד כבשים] [2] שנה שבעה ושע[יר עזים לחטאת ולמנחתמה ונסכמה]
[1] On the first day of the seventh month you shall have a holy convocation; you shall not do any	[9] And on the first of the month […] [10] of the year [You shall do no] me[nial] work […] [11] only it will be

[32] See Yadin, *The Temple Scroll*, 1:90, who already noted that the closest parallel to the festival in 14:9–15:2 can be found in *Jub.* 7:2–5.

[33] The number of festivals seems to increase constantly during the Second Temple period. The number of festivals in the Covenant Code or Deuteronomy is smaller than in the Holiness Code or the other priestly sections of the Pentateuch.

[34] According to Swanson, *The Temple Scroll and the Bible*, 228–35, the author of the *Temple Scroll* mainly used one base text that he may have supplemented by other pentateuchal texts. See n. 18.

[35] Apart from the parallels with Num 29:1–6, the translation is from Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (Leiden: Brill, 1997–1998), 2:1235.

done for you […] [12] one ram, male lambs a y[ear old] without blemish …] si[n offering] [13] in addition to the burnt-offering of the new moon […] mi]xed [14] with half a hin of oil and wine for the libation […] [15] tenths of finest flour for the mix[ed] offering […] [16] a th[ir]d of a hin for the [one] ram […] a tenth [17] […] offeri[ng mi]xed [with a fou]rth hin of oil […] [18] the one […] the lambs and for the he-go[at [15:1] [eve]ry day […] [2] seven yearling [lambs] and a he-[goat for a sin offering …].

menial work. It is a day for you to blow the trumpets, [2] and you shall offer a burnt offering, a pleasing odor to Yahweh: one young bull, one ram, seven male lambs a year old without blemish. [3] Their grain offering shall be of choice flour mixed with oil, three-tenths of one ephah for the bull, two-tenths for the ram, [4] and one-tenth for each of the seven lambs; [5] with one male goat for a sin offering, to make atonement for you. [6] (These are) in addition to the burnt offering of the new moon and its grain offering, and the regular burnt offering and its grain offering, and their drink offerings, according to the ordinance for them, a pleasing odor, an offering by fire to Yahweh.

Sentences from different parts of Num 29:1–6 were clearly used in 11QT[a] 14:9–15, but because most of this source was left out, it seems to have functioned as resource material. *Temple Scroll* 14:9–15 also follows the structure of Num 29:1–6, which implies that it was used as a model for the new law. The author of 11QT[a] 14:9–15:2 may also have used Num 14–15 and the rest of Num 28–29 as sources, although these texts mainly inspired themes, some phrases, and technical vocabulary. For example, shared technical vocabulary is found in Num 15:4–7 (ההין שמן, ויין לנסך), Num 14:10; 28:9–13 (עשרנים סולת מנחה בלולה), as well as in Num 28:14 (שלישית ההין לאיל).

From the perspective of editorial processes, the author of 11QT[a] 14:9–15:2 took extensive liberties in creating the new law.[36] The sources in the Pentateuch were regarded as resource material that was used if appropriate in the new context. There was no need to follow any

[36] The festival is probably not a mere literary creation, but has a historical background. We only see its formation as a literary unit, while the actual origin of the law lies beyond the scope of this investigation.

particular section of the Pentateuch; the author could adopt one sentence from one part of the Pentateuch and combine it with his own conceptions. The resulting law appears to be a new creation by the author of 11QT[a] 14:9–15:2.

The *Temple Scroll* as a Witness to the Editorial Processes of Hebrew Scriptures

The *Temple Scroll* provides significant evidence about the editorial processes of the Pentateuch, the most authoritative texts of Second Temple Judaism. The fact that the *Temple Scroll* was left out of the Hebrew Bible, does not diminish its importance, for the texts of the Pentateuch were also not part of any Hebrew canon during their formative period. Moreover, the evidence comes from a relatively late period when the Pentateuch had already reached a significant position and was widely regarded as authoritative. The *Temple Scroll* thus reveals editorial processes of some of the central texts of Second Temple Judaism. There is no reason to assume that the editorial processes of the *Temple Scroll* were fundamentally different from those used earlier in the formation of the Pentateuch. Although this does not mean that all parts of the Pentateuch were edited in a similar way as the *Temple Scroll*, it does provide evidence for various possible techniques of editing that may have been utilized in the formation of the Pentateuch.[37]

Although only a fraction of the available evidence could be discussed here, the examples cover some of the most typical types of the ways a new law was formed. Providing models and the range of possibilities in making editorial changes in relation to the literary predecessor or the source text, this documented evidence is thus directly relevant for the investigation of texts in the Hebrew Scriptures where no such evidence is available.

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[37] White Crawford, *The Temple Scroll*, 77, has noted that the *Temple Scroll* is so similar to the Pentateuch that "similarities to any other documents pale by comparison."

In some cases, the author of the *Temple Scroll* followed the pentateuchal source very faithfully, copying it almost word for word (e.g., 11QT[a] 54:8–18; 55:15–21). Although there are occasional changes in content, form, and style, they are mainly minor and do not alter the law in any substantial way. For example, in what seems an almost systematic change, the third person reference to Yahweh was often changed to the first person. In comparison with the small changes in the *Temple Scroll*, in the example texts discussed here, 11QT[a] 54:8–18 and 55:15–21, the Masoretic text seems to have undergone a less faithful transmission. Both Deut 13:2–6 and 17:2–5 preserve expansions unknown to the author of the *Temple Scroll*.

There are also examples where different pentateuchal laws were combined in the *Temple Scroll*. The background for this is the complex development of the Pentateuch by which several versions of a law dealing with the same subject emerged. Although the author of the *Temple Scroll* apparently did not seek to explain away the differences or to harmonize the laws, he could use them to form what he obviously regarded as an improved version. *Temple Scroll* 48:7–10 is an example of such a technique. Deuteronomy 14:1–2 and Lev 19:28 were combined in 11QT[a] 48:7–10 to form a new law on illegitimate mourning rituals for the dead. Although the use of these laws is faithful in the core sentences, the author of 11QT[a] 48:7–10 could omit the rest of the context (e.g., Deut 14:2b) and use merely those sentences that he regarded as relevant. The new law was then supplemented by entirely new material without any obvious textual basis in the Pentateuch. In effect, the text taken from Deut 14:1–2 and Lev 19:28 only formed a small part of the resulting instructions in 11QT[a] 48:1–17.

Examples of editorial processes that are a further step less conservative can be found in the revision of the Passover law. Although the author of 11QT[a] 17:6–16 generally used Num 28:16–25 as the base text, he took the liberty of making repeated changes. Parts of the source text were omitted, rewritten, shortened, and rearranged. Moreover, the author could use ideas from other parts of the Pentateuch in shaping the new law. For example, Num 28:16–25 was partly harmonized with ideas from Deut 16:1–8, although no text from this passage was utilized in 11QT[a] 17:6–16. The comparison between 11QT[a] 17:6–16 and

Num 28:16–25 suggests that the author of the *Temple Scroll* was not bound by the exact text even in those cases where the pentateuchal base text was extensively followed.

Finally, the *Temple Scroll* provides examples where the source text was only used in a way that could be characterized as a radical revision or, more likely, the use of a pentateuchal text as resource material. In 11QT[a] 14:9–15:2 some sentences as well as the general form were taken from the source text in Num 29:1–6, but the result is an almost free creation. It appears that the author of 11QT[a] 14:9–15:2 was not bound by the source text in any way. The resulting law has no parallel in the Pentateuch and seems to be a new invention. The *Temple Scroll* 14:9–15:2 appears to regulate a different festival than what the source text does.

The examples range from rather conservative processes to radical or almost free revisions of the source text. The production of the *Temple Scroll* thus shows editorial processes that go much beyond what is usually assumed to have taken place in the redaction of the Hebrew Scriptures. In comparison with the evidence from the Samaritan Pentateuch, for example, the *Temple Scroll* is much more radical. Although there are repeated differences between the Masoretic text and the Samaritan Pentateuch, the differences are nearly always expansions, mostly in the Samaritan version. Omissions, replacements, or rewritings of the older text are exceptional and minor. It stands to reason that the editors behind the transmission of the Samaritan Pentateuch—at least as far as can be determined for the period after it had diverged from a shared textual tradition with the Masoretic text—avoided omitting anything from the older text. The examples of radical revision in the *Temple Scroll* thus suggest that entirely different editorial techniques were applied by its author-editor than by the transmitters of the Samaritan Pentateuch.

The evidence from the *Temple Scroll* has several repercussions for redaction criticism. It means that one needs to take the possibility of radical revisions into consideration in the investigation of the literary prehistory of the Hebrew Scriptures. That a text was widely regarded as authoritative and of divine origin does not seem to have hindered later editors from revising the text and omitting some of its parts. The revi-

sion may also have taken place in a relatively late period when the text had already been transmitted conservatively in an earlier period (for example the Passover law: Lev 23:5–8 and Num 28:16–25; cf. 11QT[a] 17:6–16). If the Pentateuch could be revised in such a radical way in the 2nd century B.C.E., there is no reason to assume that any other text of the Hebrew Scriptures was more protected from such editorial changes.

Clearly, the circumstances of radical revision differ from a conventional transmission. It is probable that most editorial changes were expansions and that there was considerable resistance to challenging the older text.[38] Under stable circumstances with a continuous ideological paradigm, it is unlikely that editors would seek to make a radical revision of authoritative texts. A radical revision necessitates compelling reasons and implies an ideological paradigm shift.[39] In the case of the *Temple Scroll*, it is probable that its original background is an ideological conflict with the main transmitting community of the Pentateuch or the Judaism that regarded the Pentateuch as the center of religious authority during this time. Otherwise, it would be difficult to explain such a major and bold undertaking that would undermine the credibility and authority of the existing written Torah.

It lies beyond question that in the case of radical revisions the redaction critic would have limited possibilities to penetrate the earlier literary strata. This possibility has to be accepted in investigating any texts in the Hebrew Scriptures. It is therefore crucial to identify those texts where the reconstruction of the earlier strata is not possible, for a literary critical analysis of such texts would result in erroneous reconstructions that lead to misleading conceptions of ancient Israel and Judaism. Ideological paradigms provide a key to identifying radical revi-

[38] This is seen in the fact that most of the editorial changes in the transmission history of the Hebrew Scriptures have been addition where the older text was fully preserved. For discussion and examples from various parts of the Hebrew Scriptures, see Pakkala, *God's Word Omitted*.

[39] For paradigms and paradigm shifts in the transmission of the Hebrew Scriptures, see Juha Pakkala, "Textual Development within Paradigms and Paradigm Shifts," *Hebrew Bible and Ancient Israel* (4/2014).

sions. When a clear ideological paradigm shift can be identified within a literary stratum in relation to its predecessor, it is likely that the editor could have resorted to radical techniques of editing when creating his version of the text. Although this makes the reconstruction of the literary strata more difficult than it already is, it would be hazardous to abandon redaction criticism altogether,[40] for there is much information that can be gained by this method.[41] Among other documented evidence that has received renewed attention in recent scholarship, the *Temple Scroll* should help us to refine redaction criticism.

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[40] Thus against Kaufman, "The Temple Scroll," 29, 42–43, who on the basis of the evidence from the *Temple Scroll* has noted that critics may only identify the "broadest outlines" of the sources behind texts when documented evidence is not available.

[41] The consistent consequence of abandoning redaction criticism would be to abandon all attempts to reconstruct the history of ancient Israel and Judaism that predates the latest redactional layers of the Hebrew Scriptures. This would mean that the Hebrew Scriptures would cease to be historical documents for the time predating the 3rd–1st centuries B.C.E.

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How to Expel a Demon

Form- and Tradition-Critical Assessment of the Ritual of Exorcism in 11QApocryphal Psalms

The extant portions of manuscript 11QApocryphal Psalms (11Q11) contain several psalms unknown before the Qumran finds and a slightly different version of Psalm 91.[1] The scroll has received a fair amount of scholarly attention that can be roughly divided into two spheres of interest, viz., the close reading of the Hebrew text and placing the psalms in the manuscript into the larger context of late Second Temple period Judaism.[2] But apart from studies dealing with the manuscript's version

[1] The reasons for the differences between the versions of Psalm 91 have been discussed in Mika S. Pajunen, "Qumranic Psalm 91: A Structural Analysis," in *Scripture in Transition: Essays on Septuagint, Hebrew Bible, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of Raija Sollamo* (ed. A. Voitila and J. Jokiranta; JSJSup 126; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 591–605.

[2] The amount of attention given to the close reading of the Hebrew text correlates with the amount of editorial work done on this manuscript by different scholars. The preliminary publication of the manuscript was made in two articles by Johannes P. M. van der Ploeg, "Le psaume XCI dans une recension de Qumrân," *RB* 72 (1965): 210–17; idem, "Un petit rouleau de psaumes apocryphes (11QPsAp^a)," in *Tradition und Glaube: Das frühe Christentum in seiner Umwelt. Festgabe für Karl Georg Kuhn* (ed. G. Jeremias, H. W. Kuhn and H. Stegemann; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971), 128–39. The work on the scroll was carried on by Émile Puech who has thus far written three articles on 11Q11 with all of them having some differences in how he has read the text as well as the reconstructions he offers, see Émile Puech, "11QPsAp^a: Un rituel d'exorcismes. Essai de reconstruction," *RevQ* 14 (1990): 377–408; idem, "Les deux derniers psaumes davidiques du rituel d'exorcisme 11QPsAp^a IV 4-V 14," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (ed. D. Dimant and U. Rappaport; STDJ 10; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 64–89; idem, "Les Psaumes davidiques du rituel d'exorcisme (11Q11)," in *Sapiential, Liturgical and Poetical Texts from Qumran: Pro-*

of Psalm 91,[3] there has been very little work done on the individual psalms or on the compilation as a whole.[4]

There are two major theories concerning the content of 11QapocrPs. The first is that at least some of the psalms on 11Q11 are

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ceedings of the Third Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Oslo 1998. Published in Memory of Maurice Baillet (ed. D. K. Falk, F. García Martínez and E. M. Schuller; STDJ 35; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 160–81. Another edition of the entire manuscript was published by James A. Sanders just before the publication of the official DJD edition of the text, see James A. Sanders, "A Liturgy for Healing the Stricken (11QPsAp^a = 11Q11)," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek Texts with English Translations. Vol. 4A, Pseudepigraphic and Non-Masoretic Psalms and Prayers* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth and H. W. L. Rietz with P. W. Flint et al.; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1997), 216–33. The *editio princeps* of the manuscript was finally published in 1998 by Florentino García Martínez, Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, and Adam S. van der Woude, "11QapocrPs," in *Qumran Cave 11, II. 11Q2-18, 11Q20-31* (ed. F. García Martínez, E. J. C. Tigchelaar, and A. S. van der Woude; DJD 23; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 181–205.

An equal amount of attention has been given to the text in the manuscript in relation to its placement within the broader framework of late Second Temple period Judaism; see, e.g., Philip S. Alexander, "'Wrestling against Wickedness in High Places': Magic in the Worldview of the Qumran Community," in *The Scrolls and the Scriptures: Qumran Fifty Years After* (ed. S. E. Porter and C. A. Evans; JSPSup 26; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 318–37; Armin Lange, "The Essene Position on Magic and Divination," in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Published in Honor of Joseph M. Baumgarten* (ed. M. Bernstein, F. García Martínez and J. Kampen; STDJ 23; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 377–436; Esther Eshel, "Apotropaic Prayers in the Second Temple Period," in *Liturgical Perspectives: Prayer and Poetry in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium of The Orion Center for The Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 19–23 January, 2000* (ed. E. G. Chazon; STDJ 48; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 69–88; Gideon Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic: A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); David Lincicum, "Scripture and Apotropaism in the Second Temple Period," *BN* 138 (2008): 63–87.

[3] Cf. Hermann Lichtenberger, "Ps 91 und die Exorzismen in 11QPsAp^a," in *Demons: The Demonology of Israelite-Jewish and Early Christian Literature in Context of their Environment* (ed. A. Lange, H. Lichtenberger, and D. K. F. Römheld; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 416–21; Matthias Henze, "Psalm 91 in Premodern Interpretation and at Qumran," in *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran* (ed. M. Henze; SDSSRL; Grand Rapids: W. B. Eerdmans, 2005), 168–93; Pajunen, "Qumranic Psalm," 591–605; Corinna Körting, "Text and Context – Ps 91 and 11QPsAp^a," in *The Composition of the Book of Psalms* (ed. E. Zenger; BETL 238; Leuven: Peeters, 2010), 567–78.

[4] But note Mika S. Pajunen, "The Function of 11QPsAp^a as a Ritual," in *Text and Ritual. Papers Presented at the Symposium Text and Ritual* (ed. A. K. Gudme; Publikationer fra Det Teologiske Fakultet 12; Copenhagen: University of Copenhagen, 2009), 50–60; idem, "The Use of Different Aspects of the Deuteronomistic Ideology in Apocryphal Psalms," in *Changes in Scripture: Rewriting and Interpreting Authoritative Traditions in the Second Temple Period* (ed. J. Pakkala, M. Marttila, and H. von Weissenberg; BZAW 419; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011), 347–67.

meant to exorcize demons. The second is the identification of the scroll as *the* four songs to be sung over the stricken that are mentioned in the large psalms manuscript from Cave 11 among a list of psalms that David wrote (11QPs[a] 27:2–11).[5] The second theory seems quite unlikely to be correct. According to my recent investigation on this subject, the identification is problematic both in terms of 11QPs[a] and 11QapocrPs. The mention of the four songs in 11QPs[a] is intended as a reminder that David wrote exorcisms that were to be sung on the four intercalary days.[6] In terms of 11QapocrPs, the theory is problematic both in terms of the number of psalms and the identification of all of these with David.[7]

The first theory in turn serves as the starting point of this investigation. It was recognized early on by Johannes P. M. van der Ploeg that at least some of the psalms included on this scroll were anti-demonic in nature, that is, their purpose seemed to be to drive out evil spirits.[8] Émile Puech has further developed this theory and argues that the scroll constitutes a ritual of healing made up of psalms of exorcism.[9] While this hypothesis seems likely to be correct in light of the extant text on 11QapocrPs, it is striking that very little has been done to establish the boundaries of the individual psalms by textual, form-critical, and tradi-

[5] Both theories were first formulated by van der Ploeg, "Un petit rouleau," 129, and were later further elaborated by Puech, "11QPsAp[a]," 378–99. The identification of 11QapocrPs as the "four songs to be sung over the stricken" mentioned in 11QPs[a] has been supported, for example by Sanders, "A Liturgy," 216; Alexander, "Wrestling against Wickedness," 326; Lange, "The Essene Position," 380. The exorcism function of most or all of the psalms on the scroll has thus far been widely accepted. For the edition of 11QPs[a], see James A. Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumran Cave 11 (11QPs[a])* (DJD 4; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965).

[6] Mika S. Pajunen, *The Land to the Elect and Justice for All: Reading Psalms in the Dead Sea Scrolls in Light of 4Q381* (JAJSupp 14; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013), 55–61. Cf. Jonathan Ben-Dov, *Head of All Years. Astronomy and Calendars at Qumran in their Ancient Context* (STDJ 78; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 51–52; Eshel, "Apotropaic Prayers," 83–84.

[7] Cf. Eileen M. Schuller, *Non-Canonical Psalms from Qumran: A Pseudepigraphic Collection* (HSS 28; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), 14; García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and van der Woude, "11QapocrPs," 183; Bohak, *Ancient Jewish*, 109.

[8] Van der Ploeg, "Un petit rouleau," 129.

[9] Puech, "11QPsAp[a]," 378–99. This claim has been widely accepted by scholars, see, e.g., Sanders, "A Liturgy," 216; Alexander, "Wrestling against Wickedness," 326–27; Lichtenberger, "Ps 91 und die Exorzismen," 420; Russell C. D. Arnold, *The Social Role of Liturgy in the Religion of the Qumran Community* (STDJ 60; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 167.

tion-critical criteria. Similarly, it has not been investigated how the individual psalms function as parts of the overall ritual.

There have thus far been two form-critical studies of psalms dealing with demons, but neither one has concentrated on 11QapocrPs and the studies have not utilized one another's results. Bilhah Nitzan compared 4Q510-511 *Songs of the Sage* that derive from the Qumran movement with later incantations mostly preserved in Aramaic and found that they had the same basic elements.[10] The results of Nitzan's study have not yet been utilized for research on 11QapocrPs, but many of the elements common to the later Aramaic magic bowl inscriptions and the *Songs of the Sage* can also be found in the psalms of 11QapocrPs.

Esther Eshel in turn analyzed the psalms and prayers dealing with demons preserved in the MT book of Psalms and among the Dead Sea Scrolls and she was able to make an important distinction between two different kinds of psalms, viz., incantations and apotropaic prayers.[11] Incantations are meant to expel demons from a person thought to be possessed by them whereas apotropaic prayers are used to provide protection from the attacks of demons. Eshel's categorization is adopted in this study and thus the central form-critical terms of the study are: exorcism, incantation, and apotropaic prayer. For the latter two terms the above definitions based on their function are used, and exorcism is understood as the overall act of expelling a demon, which might be accomplished by a simple incantation or might require a complex ritual consisting of both incantations and apotropaic prayers and possibly other kinds of material as well.

This study provides a form- and tradition-critical assessment of 11QapocrPs that will allow for a greater appreciation of the nuances of the individual psalms and the ritual they make up. Nitzan's and Eshel's studies will be utilized, but there is also comparative material that their studies did not treat that is much closer to the probable time when the

[10] Bilhah Nitzan, "Hymns from Qumran—4Q510–4Q511," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (ed. D. Dimant and U. Rappaport; STDJ 10; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 53–63.
[11] Eshel, "Apotropaic Prayers," 69–88.

ritual in 11QapocrPs was compiled. The scroll 11Q11 is among the latest manuscripts found at Qumran according to paleographical dating, dated to c. 50-70 C.E.[12] The ritual may naturally be older than that, but it is also a possibility that this might be the original compilation. Josephus preserves several stories of exorcisms situated to the first decades C.E. and the New Testament provides many accounts of both incantations and apotropaic prayers and their usage in a first-century C.E. Jewish context and nearly always written by a person brought up as a Jew.[13] Especially the gospels record multiple incantations allegedly uttered by Jesus as well as descriptions of settings where such prayers were used (e.g., Mark 9:14–28, Matt 8:28–32). While apotropaic prayers are not as plentiful in the New Testament as incantations, even the Lord's Prayer functions as one when it reads: καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν, ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ; "And do not bring us to the time of trial, but rescue us from the evil one" (Matt 6:13 NRSV).

This study will proceed first with an analysis of the individual psalms by a close reading of the Hebrew text, by establishing the boundaries and movement of the psalms with the aid of textual and form-critical evidence, and by evaluating their primary function(s). Then the complete ritual is scrutinized in the light of the individual parts it consists of and their order. Finally, what the possible settings of the ritual could have been in view of the available traditions will be explored.

[12] García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and van der Woude, "11QapocrPs," 184.

[13] While it is generally acknowledged that there was no early parting of the ways between what later became known as Rabbinic Judaism and Christianity, such an idea nevertheless frequently plays an unnecessary and perhaps partly unconscious role in the selection of relevant source material.

The Individual Psalms of 11QapocrPs

It is difficult to ascertain how many psalms there originally were on the complete scroll or even how many there are now among the surviving parts since especially the beginning of the scroll is so damaged.[14] There are remains of five columns (II–VI) on the opened scroll and additional fragments that belong to at least two previous columns (frgs. 1, 2 and I). The fragments probably come from a separate sheet from columns II–VI, as the opened scroll does not have any visible ruling but the fragments do. There is no indication as to the original length of the scroll. The remaining fragments probably come from the final seven columns, but it is probable that there were columns preceding the remaining ones. Sheets with just two columns are quite rare and it would be even odder to have such a short sheet followed by an unusually long one with five columns. This makes it probable that there was material preceding the extant fragments. Although what remains are psalm compositions, the possibility cannot be entirely discounted that the beginning of the manuscript might also have held prose text describing the ritual or its setting (cf. 1QS).

[14] Puech has distinguished exactly four psalms from the manuscript, which conforms to his thesis about the scroll consisting of exactly the four Davidic psalms to be sung over the stricken mentioned in 11QPs[a]. Puech, "Les Psaumes," 160–81, separates the psalms as follows: psalm 1 columns 01 and I, psalm 2 col. II 1–V 3, psalm 3 col. V 4–VI 3a and psalm 4 (Ps 91) col. VI 3b–14. Note the length of the first two psalms compared to the last two.

The Fragments that Preceded the Extant Scroll (frgs. 1-4 and col. I)

Fragment 1

1]וה[[15]
2]מב[[16]
3] הא[
4]○ם ע[
5]דם א[[17]
6]○ סוכות[
7]לם ו[

Translation

1]*wh*[
2]*mb*[
3] *h*'[
4].*m* '[
5]*dm* .[
6]booths .[
7]*lm* and[

[15] The letters visible on the scroll have been read with the aid of PAM photographs and the Dead Sea Scrolls electronic reference library, but the original manuscript has also been consulted at the facilities of the IAA in 2005 and 2012 to ascertain the readings. For reasons of space the letters seen differently from some of the other scholars are not discussed here if someone else has read them the same way. The readings that have an impact on the interpretation of the text will be argued as will the letters read differently from everyone else. Puech has in his editions filled almost all the lacunas with textual reconstructions and while it is a possible way of seeing the text, a more minimalistic approach has been chosen here. The reconstructions, with a couple of exceptions that will be noted, come from the editions of van der Ploeg, "Un petit rouleau"; Puech, "11QPsAp^{a}"; idem, "Les Psaumes"; García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and van der Woude, "11QapocrPs."

[16] García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and van der Woude, "11QapocrPs," 188; Puech, "Les Psaumes," 176, read the first extant letter as *kaf*. However, a close examination of the original fragment shows that the letter is a *mem* with a partly abraded sloping stroke. The beginning and end of the stroke are clear and distinct enough for the letter to be recognized as *mem* even without the abraded portion.

[17] García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and van der Woude, "11QapocrPs," 188, mark the last letter as unidentifiable, and Puech, "Les Psaumes," 176, reads it as *waw*. The letter is *alef* because both the downward slanting leg and the hand branching from it are observable on the original fragment.

Fragment 2

Column i

1]
2]○ה
3]תֹ
4]שְׂיד

Column ii

5 בֹ[
6 אֹת]
7 שבעים[
8 ל○[

Translation

Col. i

1]
2].*h*
3]*t*
4]*šyk*

Col. ii

5 *b*[
6 *ʾt* [
7 seventy[
8 *l*.[

Fragment 3

1]○[
2] למיֹם]
3]אֹחתֹ[

Translation

1].[
2] to water [
3]one[

Fragment 4

1]תֹ[
2] יֹריק]

Translation

1]*t*[
2] he emptied [

Column I

2]ובוכהו
3]שבועה
4]בֿיהוה[
5]תנין אֿ[
6]ת האו[[18]
7] משבֿ[
8]את בֿ[
9]הזואתֿ[
10]אֿת השד[
11]ושבֿ[

Translation

2 […]and weeps for him
3 […]oath
4 […]in YHWH[…]
5 […]serpent [18][…]
6 […]*t h'w*[…]
7 […] *mšb*[…]
8 […]*'t b*[…]
9 […]this[…]
10 […]*'t* demon[…]
11 […]and *šb*[…]

Unfortunately the beginning of the scroll is damaged so badly that the average count of less than one whole word per line does not allow for more than speculation on its contents. Whether the extant fragments come from two or three columns cannot be decided conclusively and therefore the fragments are presented here according to their numbering in the DJD edition,[19] not as parts of columns 01 and I as they appear in Puech's latest article.[20] The fragments come from at least two columns as is evident on fragment 2. Fragments 3 and 4 can be situated in nearly

[18] The last letter is probably not *resh* (so van der Ploeg, "Un petit rouleau," 130; Puech, "11QPsAp[a]," 397; Sanders, "A Liturgy," 218; García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and van der Woude, "11QapocrPs," 188) as there is no sign of the horizontal stroke or the angle beginning it. The shape of the head shows it to be *waw*.
[19] García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and van der Woude, "11QapocrPs," 185–88.
[20] Puech, "Les Psaumes," 176–77.

any lacuna on the scroll so they are treated in this section only to make the list of fragments complete, not as a suggestion about their placement, which cannot be made with any confidence.

The most that can be said about the content of these fragments is that the mention of a demon(s) (I 10) and serpent (I 5) in column I point, in light of the other songs, to the possibility that at least one of the compositions preceding the opened scroll is an incantation or an apotropaic prayer. The number of columns (at least two) suggests that there was more than one psalm in them, but this cannot be shown with certainty.

A Solomonic Psalm with a Celestial Trial (II 1–III 13)

Column II

[21]01
1]○שמ֯[22]
2] שלומה ויקר֯[א]
3 הרו]חות והשדים [ ]
4] אלה֯[הש]דים בשׂ֯[ ]מח[23]
5]שר[]○[ ]ל[]ת[24] ה○[ ]ך
6]לש○[ ]ה֯גד[אל]והי[25]

[21] Columns V and VI show that the manuscript originally had at least fourteen lines. It is possible that there were even more lines as there is no extant upper margin, but at least fourteen lines should be assumed for all the columns as Puech, "11QPsAp[a]," 386–87, has done.
[22] The first letter after the lacuna is *bet*, *kaf* or *gimel*. The third letter is not final *mem* (read by Puech, "11QPsAp[a]," 386 and Sanders, "A Liturgy," 220) because the lower stroke bends too much and is too long to be the lower stroke of final *mem*. The letter is also higher in comparison with the preceding letters than final *mem* usually is in this manuscript. The letter is *kaf,* medial *mem* or *pe* of which medial *mem* is the most likely.
[23] The last letter of the line is not *he* (read by van der Ploeg, "Un petit rouleau," 130; Puech, "11QPsAp[a]," 386; Sanders, "A Liturgy," 220; García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and van der Woude, "11QapocrPs," 189) as the crossbar is between the vertical strokes not on top of them and over them as *he* should be. Therefore, the letter is probably *khet*.
[24] There is a word division between *taw* and *he*. If they were part of the same word they would be much closer to each other (cf. column III 1).

7]○○[ ]עמי תֹ○○○ רפאה

8 על]שמך נשען וקה[ל[26]

9 יש]ראל החזק

10]את השמים

11]○ר הבדיל[

12]○ עד[

13

Column III

01

1]תה[ ]את הימ[27]

2 להארץ ועל[ ]ארץ מי ע[שה את האותות]

3 ואת המופ[תים האלה ב]ארץ יהוה הוא[ה אשר]

4 עשה את ה[אלה בגבור]תו משביע לכול מ[מזרים]

5 [וא]ת כול זר[ע הרשע]אשר יושבו[28] לפני[ו ויעיד א]ת

6 [כול הש]מים ו[את כול] הארץ[בהם]אשר יעש[ו]על

7 [כול אי]ש חטא ועל כול א[דם]הם יודעים

8]או אשר אינם [ ]ה אם לוא

9]מלפני יהוה ל○[ ]להרוג נפש

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[25] A tentative reconstruction based on the following lines (and perhaps the previous as well) being a direct speech to God.

[26] The last visible letter on the line is probably not *resh* (read by van der Ploeg, "Un petit rouleau," 130; Puech, "11QPsAp^a," 386; Sanders, "A Liturgy," 220; García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and van der Woude, "11QapocrPs," 189). If the letter were a *resh* there should be more of the vertical stroke visible, since it is usually not straight, but slants to the left. The ink trace fits *alef*, *he*, or *tsade*. The tentative reconstruction would fit well into a parallel clause with "Israel" that is found on the next line.

[27] Others have read the letters before the final lacuna as parts of the same word (cf. van der Ploeg, "Un petit rouleau," 132), but there is a clear word division between *taw* and *he*. The first letter is not the *he* suggested by Puech, "11QPsAp^a," 387 and García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and van der Woude, "11QapocrPs," 191, as the vertical stroke slants from left to right. The legs of *he* are either straight or slant the other way from this trace. The only letter that has this kind of a stroke is *alef*. The penultimate letter can be either *waw* or *yod*, but the shape is more in line with *yod*.

[28] The first three letters of this word are very hard to decipher. The third letter is not *tsade* as read by Puech, "11QPsAp^a," 387; Sanders, "A Liturgy," 222; García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and van der Woude, "11QapocrPs," 192, as the small line on the top of the left hand of *tsade* should be visible and there is not enough space for the baseline stroke. The trace seems to be the top of a vertical stroke and thus it fits *sin* or *khet* best. Of these two *sin* is more likely. There are also traces of two preceding letters and both of them fit best with the shape of *waw*/*yod* although the minute traces leave open other possibilities as well.

10]יהוה וייר֯א[ו את המכה ה]גדולה הזוא[ת
11 וירדף א]חד מכם א[לף]מעבדי יהו[ה
12 ג]דולה יֹ֯[ ]ל תֹ[
13

Translation

II 01 – – 1 […].*šm*[…] 2 […] Solomon and he will cry for h[elp …] 3 […spi]rits and demons […] 4 […] These are [the de]mons *bš*[…]*mḥ* 5 […]*šr*[…].[…]*l*[]*t h.*[…]*k* 6 […]*lš.*[…]*hgd*[…] my [Go]d 7 […]..[…]with me *t…* a cure 8 […] relying [upon] your name and the assem[bly] 9 [… Is]rael. Support[29] 10 […] the heavens 11 […].*r* separated[…] 12 […]. until[…] 13 – – III 01 – – 1 […]*th*[…]*'t hym*[…] 2 to the earth and *'*[…]earth. Who m[ade these miracles] 3 and wond[ers on the] earth? He, YHWH [is the one who] 4 made t[hese through] his [strengt]h, who compels the b[astards] 5 [and] all the see[d of evil]that have been set before [him], to take an oath. [And he calls] 6 [all the hea]vens and[all] the earth [as witnesses against them]who committ[ed]upon 7 [all me]n sin and against all pe[ople …]*hm* they know 8 […]*'w* which they do not […]*h* if not 9 […]from before YHWH *l*[…]killing the soul 10 […]YHWH and [they] will fear tha[t] great [blow.] 11 [And o]ne of you [will put to flight] a tho[usand …]of the servants of YHW[H] 12 […g]reat and .[…]*r t*[…] 13 – –

The mention of Solomon's name (col. II 2) means that it is probable that a new psalm begins either on that line or the one preceding it. Solomon is known in several sources as having composed incantations against evil spirits (cf. Josephus *Ant.* 8.45). Therefore, it is likely that this psalm is ascribed to him.[30] Apparently what follows (II 4–5) is a list of demons (cf. 4QShir[a] 1 5–6). According to Nitzan's study, the mention of evil spirits usually comes near the beginning of exorcisms, making it more likely that the psalm begins where suggested.[31] The psalm continues with a direct speech to God (II 5?, 6–9) that has apparent

[29] The second person (sg.) is taken as referring to God, not a human as others have done (cf. García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and van der Woude, "11QapocrPs," 191). In light of the previous lines it is more probable that the second person (sg.) would still be used for God. For the meaning "sustain/support," cf. Lev 25:35; Isa 42:6, 45:1.

[30] Puech's ("Les Psaumes," 109) suggestion of this being a Davidic psalm having an incantation in the name of Solomon is unlikely to be correct as there is, as far as I am aware, no other known composition that had a comparable title.

[31] Nitzan, "Hymns from Qumran," 53–63.

pleas for a cure and support. The 2nd person (sg.) is used for God and the speaker is referred to with the 1st person. What follows (II 10–III 2) is next to impossible to decipher, but it appears that God is referred to in the 3rd person (sg.) and his works of creation are expounded upon (as in III 2–4).[32] After this the scene changes to one of a celestial trial (III 4–10) where God acts as the judge.[33] The evil spirits are the accused (referred to with the 3rd person plural). They are set before the judge and heaven and earth are called as witnesses (III 5–6).[34] Then apparently the charges (III 6–8) are given and finally the verdict (III 9–10). After the scene of the trial there is likely another first person speech where God is referred to in the 3rd person (sg.) and an audience/congregation in the 2nd person (pl.). The remnants of line 11 probably belong to two parallel colons that express the audience's power as the servants of YHWH over the demons. It is emphasized that even one of them is able to chase away a thousand demons (cf. Josh 23:10).[35] It is likely that the psalm ends soon after because the sentence for the evil spirits has been passed and the power of the audience and the speaker over the demons has been established.

In line III 4 of the psalm the word משביע is used for the first time in the extant compilation. This word is used as a technical term in (especially later) incantations in Hebrew (and Aramaic), such as the Aramaic magic bowl inscriptions, and in Greek as well where the corresponding term is ὁρκίζω.[36] Eshel remarks that the term is used in incantations meant to banish evil spirits, but not in apotropaic pray-

[32] The Deuteronomistic word pair אתות ומופתים is typically used in the Hebrew Bible to refer to the wonders God performed in Egypt, but are here instead used about the acts of God in the Creation.

[33] For the use of the root ישב in a court context, see 1 Kgs 21:9–10, where the accused is set before the court (cf. Mic 6).

[34] The notion of heaven and earth acting as witnesses in a trial is taken from Deuteronomy (cf. Deut 30:19; 31:28).

[35] For details on how the psalmist has used Deuteronomistic military oration in lines 10–11, see Pajunen, "The Use of Different Aspects," 354.

[36] For examples of this usage, see Nitzan, "Hymns from Qumran," 56–57. Cf. Eric Sorensen, *Possession and Exorcism in the New Testament and Early Christianity* (WUNT II/157; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002), 132–33.

ers.[37] Therefore, it is important for the genre of the psalm to know what the meaning of the word is here (and in column IV 1 where it occurs again). The meaning of the term in the Hebrew Bible relates to taking an oath in court or otherwise (cf. Josh 2:17–20; 1 Kgs 2:42; 22:16) and the subject is always a human whereas in the later Aramaic incantations it is used as a *terminus technicus*. In the NT, which falls in between these text corpora, the term is used twice (Mark 5:7, Acts 19:13), in the first case the word is used in the sense of the Hebrew Bible, but in the second it is clearly used in the technical sense it has in incantations. As there is no one clear usage of the term at least in the first century C.E., the meaning must be based on the context. In this column of 11QapocPs the word seems to start a scene of judgment and it should be interpreted in the meaning the term has in the Hebrew Bible, i.e., taking an oath. There is no need to mention the oath itself; the term is enough; cf. 2 Kgs 11:4. This makes better sense of the clause especially as now there is no need to assume that the action adjured to be taken is introduced by the אשר sentence, which would be awkward. As this is a court setting, the persons taking the oath are the accused and thus they are likely not the angels reconstructed in the lacunas by most other scholars.[38] Therefore, it is best to fill the lacunas with the alternative reconstructions offered by the DJD editors, viz., ממזרים and זרע הרשע.[39]

If the beginning and end of this psalm have been correctly judged it would seem to make a unified whole. It has several components found in incantations, i.e., a list of evil spirits, the use of God's name for protection, and the works of Creation as a way of explaining/praising God's power over the spirits.[40] Furthermore, the personal forms are used in a similar way all through the psalm. The psalm seems to be directed against evil spirits as a "species" or at least giving power over multiple different categories of them (the more powerful demons

[37] Eshel, "Apotropaic Prayers," 85–87.
[38] Cf. García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and van der Woude, "11QapocrPs," 194.
[39] García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and van der Woude, "11QapocrPs," 194.
[40] For the use of these in exorcisms and for examples of the use of the creation motifs, see Nitzan, "Hymns from Qumran," 55–62.

like Satan do not appear in the list in the psalm nor in the similar one in 4QShir[a], which seems to indicate a need for a specific psalm to banish them).[41] It seems likely that the psalm is to be categorized either as an incantation meant to work in banishing many different "lesser" spirits or as an apotropaic prayer meant to provide protection from them. The psalm has no direct address of a demon, which Eshel connects with incantations,[42] but there is a mention of a cure (II 7) as well as power over demons (III 11), which do point toward an incantation. Another point to be made is that as this psalm is to be used against many different demons the absence of a direct speech might relate to that instead of marking the genre of this particular psalm. The issue cannot be decided conclusively with the fragmentary text that is preserved, but both options remain viable.

An Incantation for Exorcizing a Demon (IV 1–V 3)

Column IV

1 [ו]גדול [ ]משביע[
2 והגדול ב[מלאך]תקיף ור[
3 כול הארץ[ ] השמים ו[
4 יככה יהוה מ[כה גדול]ה אשר לאבדך[
5 ובחרון אפו[ישלח]עליך מלאך תקיף[
6]רו אשר[בלוא] רחמ[ים] עליך אש[ר
7]על כול אלה אשר[יוריד][43]ך לתהום רבה
8 [ולשאול] התחתיה ומ[ ]○כב וחשך

[41] In this connection see also Mark 9:38–39.
[42] Eshel, "Apotropaic Prayers," 69–88. She did not use the NT in her study, but it is easily observable that direct address of the demon(s) is characteristic of incantations in the NT too.
[43] The reconstruction is taken from García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and van der Woude, "11QapocrPs," 197, as it fits well in the context. However, they have reconstructed the word in the plural because of the preceding אלה, but it is likely that it is not used here to refer to a new plural entity, but is rather used as a bridge connecting the preceding sentences to the following, i.e., in addition to the things mentioned before, the angel will do the following. Thus, the 3rd person singular form has been reconstructed since one less *waw* does not make the reconstruction too short for the lacuna.

9	]כה מואדה [	]הֹד[44] בארץ	
10	]עד עולם ואֹ[	]בקללת האב[	
11	]חֹרון אף יֹ[הוה	]חושך בכֹ[	
12	]תעניות [	] מתנתךָ[	
13	]לֹ[	]ה קֹ○[	
14			

Column V

1	[ ]○[	]דֹּבֹ[45] [	]כֹוֹ[46]
2	אשרֹ[	]הֹפגועֹ[	[
3	נד בוא[47]	]○אל שלמֹ[48]	סלה] *vacat*

Translation

IV 1 [and] great [...]adjuring[…] 2 and the great *b*[…] powerful [angel] and *r*[…] 3 all the earth[…] the heavens and[…] 4 YHWH will smite you with a [grea]t b[low] to destroy you[…] 5 and in his wrath[he will send] against you a powerful angel[…] 6 […]*rw* who [will not show] merc[y] to you, wh[o …] 7 […] who will, in addition to all this, [take] you [down] to the great abyss 8 [and to the] deepest [Sheol] and *my*[…].*kb* and dark 9 […]*kh* greatly […]*hd* on the earth 10 […]forever and ‘[…] with a curse *h’b*[…] 11 […]anger of

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[44] The first trace after the lacuna is the tip of a horizontal stroke that best fits *dalet*, *he* and *resh* but the *waw* read by Puech “11QPsAp[a],” 387; Sanders, “A Liturgy,” 224; García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and van der Woude, “11QapocrPs,” 196; cannot be entirely ruled out.

[45] The second letter is likely *bet* as the characteristic bit that crosses over to the right side of the vertical stroke is visible. Moreover, the vertical line is too straight to belong to *qof* as suggested by Puech “11QPsAp[a],” 387, and Sanders, “A Liturgy,” 226.

[46] The first letter after the lacuna is probably *kaf* not *bet* as read by Puech “11QPsAp[a],” 387 and Sanders, “A Liturgy,” 226, because the vertical stroke is curved and the horizontal stroke does not cross the vertical as in *bet*. There is a trace of a letter after *kaf* that might belong to a *waw* or *yod*.

[47] There is no clear division between words to be found and thus van der Ploeg, “Un petit rouleau,”135, reads these five letters as one word. However, García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and van der Woude, “11QapocrPs,” 200, correctly argue that there probably should be a division and place it between *waw* (which they read as *yod*) and *alef*. If there is a word division that was meant by the scribe that is definitely not the place for it. The only space between these five letters that is slightly wider than might be regularly expected inside one word is between *dalet* and *bet*. The penultimate letter can just as well be a *waw* as a *yod* (cf. the same word in column V 4).

[48] The reconstruction ר]פאל שלמם “R]aphael has healed them” offered by Puech (“11QPsAp[a],” 387) is a good possibility (although there is no trace left of the final letter) and probably correct if the colon refers to healing, but it could also point to the completion of the command(s) given by God to the powerful angel and in that case a more plausible reconstruction that would fit the remaining traces of the first letter just as well would be מי]כאל שלמ “M]ichael has completed it/them.”

Y[HWH …]darkness *bk*[…] 12 […]humiliation […] your gift 13 […]*l*[…]*h h.*[…] 14– – V 1 […].[…]*db* […]*kw* […] 2 who[…]stricken[…] 3 depart, go away[…].*ʾl* completed[… *Selah*] *vacat*

The most marked difference from the previous psalm is that this one is directed against a single demon instead of a myriad of evil spirits. The exact starting point of the psalm is not evident, but if the word משביע is used here in the sense it has in incantations, the psalm would start either on IV 1 or the line preceding it, as incantations usually begin with this term.[49] After the adjuration it seems that there follows a list of things YHWH will do to the evil spirit either directly or by sending a powerful angel to do his bidding (IV 2–5). In this section the 3rd person (sg.) refers to God and the 2nd person (sg.) to the demon. After this the actions of the powerful angel against the demon are listed and the 3rd person (sg.) refers to the angel (IV 6–10). The lines after that are hard to decipher, but it looks like further punishment of the demon carried out by YHWH or the powerful angel is enumerated (IV 11–V 2). The final line begins with two commands probably meant to accomplish the final banishment of the demon (cf. Mark 9:25–29) and after that the success of the incantation is referred to (V 3).

This seems to be a clear incantation to exorcize a specific demon. Unfortunately, the surviving wording does not divulge the identity of this entity. The psalm is characterized by the direct speech to the demon, which, as already noted, is to be associated with incantations meant to banish demons.[50] To whom this incantation is ascribed is also unfortunately now lost. Puech reads this incantation as part of the preceding psalm but as established here and in connection with the previous psalm the form-critical evidence derived from other incantations strongly favors reading them as separate psalms. The two psalms share some vocabulary and motifs, like YHWH striking the demon with a great blow, but none of this terminology is truly distinctive. Furthermore, shared vocabulary is more helpful for considering a shared origin

[49] Cf. Nitzan, "Hymns from Qumran," 55–57.
[50] Eshel, "Apotropaic Prayers," 69–88.

or genre than distinguishing particular psalms. For example, the *Hodayot* psalms or the *Barkhi Nafshi* hymns share a considerable amount of vocabulary between the individual psalms, but the psalms are still obviously separate compositions. A case in point is the use of אשר-clauses in three of the psalms in 11Q11. The word is hardly used at all in poetic texts because it is so awkward in poetry and most of all part of narrative texts, but here such clauses are nevertheless found in three consecutive psalms. Yet, in spite of this distinct feature that is so rare in poetic texts these three psalms are all still separate psalms, and this shared feature plausibly relates either to the provenance of these psalms or their genre.

A Davidic Incantation to Exorcize Satan (V 4–VI 3)

Column V

4 לדויד עֹ[ל שטן[51] לח]ש בשם יהו[ה]ל עת
5 אל הֿשטֿ[ן[52] כאשר[53]]ֿבוא אליך בלֿ[לה וא]מרתה אליו

[51] The reconstruction שטן "Satan" is based on this psalm probably being an incantation to banish Satan (see the next line). The partly reconstructed words are taken from Puech, "11QPsAp^a," 381.

[52] The second letter of the word is clear, but the first and third are harder to read. The traces of the first letter fit either *resh* (as read by van der Ploeg, "Un petit rouleau," 135) or two *waws*/*yod*s, but the second option is not viable because the space between the two would be too wide. However, there is abrasion on the left hand portion of the letter, which means that the letter can also be *taw*, *khet* or the *he* read by Puech, "11QPsAp^a," 381; Sanders, "A Liturgy," 226; García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and van der Woude, "11QapocrPs," 198. The third letter cannot be *mem*, as read by Puech, "11QPsAp^a," 381; Sanders, "A Liturgy," 226; García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and van der Woude, "11QapocrPs," 198. It is either the *pe* read by van der Ploeg, "Un petit rouleau," 135; or a *tet* since it can be clearly observed on the original that the upper horizontal stroke bends into a short downward stroke that fits only these two letters. The identification can also be made with only the photo. The baseline stroke is not parallel to the line as in *pe*, but at an angle as in *mem* and *tet*. The visible vertical stroke makes *tet* the more probable as it is longer than in the *mem*s on the scroll. Thus *tet* is practically the only possible reading of the traces. A word that fits both the ink traces and the context is השטן "Satan."

[53] The reconstructed word should probably render the temporal sense "when"; see Puech, "11QPsAp^a," 381 and García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and van der Woude, "11QapocrPs," 200. The אשר reconstructed by Puech is rare in temporal use as is the כי offered by García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and van der Woude, which is furthermore a bit short for the lacuna. However, the preceding letters were read differently from the others and hence the only letter

6 מי אתה [הילוד מ]אדם ומזרע הקד[וש]ם פניך פני
7 [שו]ו וקרנ֯יך קרני חל[ו]ם חושך אתה ולוא אור
8 [עו]ל ולוא צדקה[ ]חר הצבא[54] יהוה [יאסר]ך
9 [בשאו]ל תחתית [ויסגור דל]תי נחושת ב[אלה לו]א
10 [יעבור] אור ולוא[תאיר לך]השמש אש[ר יזרח]
11 [על ה]צדיק לה[ו]אמרתה ה[
12 [ ]צדיק לבוא[ ]הרע לו ש[
13 [ ]מת כח○[55] צ]דקה לו[
14 [ ] ו○[ ]ל[ ]ה

Column VI

1 [ ]ג[ ]ד[ ]ל○[ ]ן
2 [ ]תוב[ ]יה[ ]יהן[ל]עולם
3 [ ]בני בל[יעל] סלה [*vacat*

Translation

V 4 Of David. Aga[inst Satan. An incanta]tion in the name of YHW[H …]*l* time 5 to Sata[n when]he comes to you in the ni[ght. And]you shall [s]ay to him: 6 "Who are you, you [who were born from]man and the seed of the ho[ly one]s? Your face is only 7 [an illu]sion and your horns just a dre[a]m. Darkness you are, not light, 8 [injusti]ce, not righteousness[…]*ḫr* host. YHWH [will bind]you 9 [in the]deepest [Sheo]l [and will close the] bronze [ga]tes [which n]o 10 light [penetrates] and [the] sun will not [shine for you] tha[t rises] 11 [for the]righteous to *h*[…" and]you shall say: *h*[…] 12 [… the j]ust man, to go […]evil to him *ś*[…] 13 […]*mt khא*.[… is j]ustice for [him …] 14 […] and .[…]*l*[…]*h* VI 1 […]*g*[…]*d*[…].*l*[…]*yn* 2 […]*twb*[…]*yh*[…]*yhy*[… for]ever 3 […]sons of Bel[ial …] *Selah* [*vacat*

in the lacuna before this word is final *nun*, which means that there is more space left for this reconstruction and כאשר fits both the lacuna and context perfectly.

[54] The first letter after the lacuna is *khet*, *zayin* or the *sin* read by Puech, "11QPsAp^{a}," 381; Sanders, "A Liturgy," 226; García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and van der Woude, "11QapocrPs," 198. The one that fits the traces best is *khet*. The last letter of the word הצבא is a clear *alef* as it is also read by Puech, "11QPsAp^{a}," 381. There should be no possibility of confusing it with a *he* as done by van der Ploeg, "Un petit rouleau," 135 and García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and van der Woude, "11QapocrPs," 198.

[55] The first letter of this word is entirely visible and it appears to be a *kaf*, not the *mem* read by van der Ploeg, "Un petit rouleau," 136; Puech "11QPsAp^{a}," 381; Sanders, "A Liturgy," 226; García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and van der Woude, "11QapocrPs," 198.

The penultimate song is the only psalm in this manuscript that is clearly ascribed to David (V 4). After the title comes an opening formula mentioning Satan.[56] It also states that the following psalm acts as an incantation to banish Satan through the power of God's name. The power of God's name is the primary force used in incantations to compel the evil spirits to obey. Thus, in 11Q11 it is the fundamental power the incantations draw upon (V 4), and it is what the people asking for aid rely upon (II 8); the name itself acts as an invocation of a refuge (cf. VI 4 and 9) and because of the power connected to the actual name of God, the Tetragrammaton is frequently employed in these psalms.

What follows the introductory statements is two speeches (V 5–11 and V 11–?) to be used against Satan. The second speech is too damaged to give a sense of its movement, but the first speech aims to deny the power of Satan (V 6–7) and describes how YHWH will punish him (V 7–11). The last words of the psalm mention the "sons of Belial" (VI 3), which is quite a rare combination of words[57] and probably refers

[56] Satan and Belial are names used for the same entity, but seem to belong to separate strands of tradition. The Hebrew Bible uses only Satan as a proper name, but the name is hardly attested at all in the "non-biblical" manuscripts from Qumran. The only texts using Satan as a name with certainty are the *Plea for Deliverance*, *Jubilees*, and perhaps the *Aramaic Levi Document*. Belial, on the other hand, is a name used frequently and the one preferred in the writings usually associated with the Qumran movement. When Greek translations are consulted, the picture remains largely the same. The New Testament uses Satan (it is translated in the Septuagint as *diabolos*, the term which is frequently connected with Satan in the New Testament as well) with only one attestation of Beliar, the Greek term for Belial (in 2 Cor 6:15 in a passage either inserted into the text as a separate tradition or a later addition). Taking all sources together there are apparently only two texts that have both Satan and Belial as personal names: *Jubilees* and the *Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah*. Thus, the names probably come from two different strands of tradition that rarely mingled. For more on the attestations of Satan, see Armin Lange, "Satanic Verses: The Adversary in the Qumran Manuscripts and Elsewhere," *RevQ* 24 (2009-2010): 35–48.

[57] In the Hebrew Bible the pair occurs several times (e.g., Deut 13:14; Judg 19:22; 20:13), but meaning "worthless men." In the Qumran writings it is attested in 4QFlor 1-2i, 21, 8; 4QBer^{a} 7a ii, b-d, 6; and 4QpsEzek^{b} 1ii 3, and as a possible reconstruction in 4QBeatitudes 25, 2. At least the first three texts are fairly certainly to be associated with the Qumran movement. The word pair is also attested in Greek as a mistranslation, or an intentional interpretation of the translator, in Judg 20:13 and likely a similar case in *Jub.* 15:34. These translations demonstrate that the word pair was known by others and is not to be judged as only a Qumran specialty.

here to the demons whose casting out/binding has now been completed together with Satan.

This psalm seems to be another incantation directed against a single demon,[58] but this time the name of the demon is preserved, viz., Satan. Similarly as in the previous psalm there is again a direct speech addressed to the demon, and the punishment awaiting it is one of the main points of emphasis. The purpose of the psalm seems to be to banish Satan. The more didactic approach when compared to the previous psalm might be related to Satan as an entity since the power related to that demon is temptation to transgress God's commandments. Unlike demons inflicting a sickness on the victim that the victim cannot do anything about, the struggle against Satan is more internal. He is the accuser and tempter who tries to lead the righteous astray. Thus, expelling him is also dependent on the victim as is struggling against him in the future.

The way God's name is used in this psalm as the incantation's source of power is typical of Jewish invocations and this is where a clear difference from the New Testament can be observed. This is a point that has not yet been sufficiently appreciated by scholars, and, for example, Eric Sorensen considers the apparent use of Jesus' name in incantations to be similar to the use of Solomon's name.[59] However, there is a very important difference in these usages. For example, when Josephus relates the story of an exorcist who utilizes an incantation that was apparently ascribed to Solomon to dispel a demon, nowhere is it said that Solomon's name itself would carry the power to banish demons. On the contrary, the incantation was apparently thought of as Solomonic, but as 11Q11 demonstrates the power to expel the demon did not come from the name of Solomon or David but from God. Therefore, when the gospels state that the disciples of Jesus and even other Jews use the actual name of Jesus to cast out demons, it is a statement

[58] Bohak, *Ancient Jewish*, 303-5, notes a parallel to part of this psalm found in the Cairo Genizah, and he also imparts the information that there are apparently several even more direct parallels to the same psalm found in still unpublished magic bowl texts.
[59] Sorensen, *Possession and Exorcism*, 143–44.

that instead of God's name they used Jesus'. This usage of the name is a very significant claim about the status of Jesus and would have been an incentive for potential discord. If Jesus and his followers do not use God's power through the use of the divine name to banish demons as others do, then whose power do they use? This reveals the true depth of some of the disputes found in the gospels, like the Beelzebul debate (Matt 12:22–30), which is usually read as a dispute concerning the authority of Jesus in relation to other exorcists. But if read against this background, it demonstrates a true concern behind the questions, whose authority and power is behind the name of Jesus? Does it derive from Satan or God? Jesus himself is said to answer the scribes and Pharisees by logical reasoning and claiming to use the Spirit of God (not the name) for dispelling demons. He thus claims the source of power to be basically the same, but the means to be different from before, and hence a sign of the coming of God's kingdom (Matt 12:28). This short excursion into the New Testament traditions demonstrates how much more can still be done by exploring the Qumran material and the New Testament traditions together.

Qumranic Psalm 91 (VI 3–13)

Column VI[60]

3 יושב]בסתר[עליון בצל] שדי
4 [יתלונן] האומר [יהוה מחסי] ומצודת[י אלוהי] מבטח [אבטח] בו
5 [כי הו]אה יצילך מִ[פח יקו]ש מדבר הָוֹ[ות ב]אברתו יסך[לך]ותחת
6 [כנפ]יו תשכון חסדֹ[ו ע]לֵיך צנה וסוחרהְ אמתו סלה *vacat* לוֹא תירא
7 מפַּחד לילה מחץ יעוף יומם מקטב ישוד[צ]הרים מדבר[בא]פל
8 יהלך יפ[ו]ל מצדך אלף ור[בבה מי]מינך אל[יך לו]א יגע רקֹ[תביט]
9 בעינ[יך ותרא]ה שלום רשע[ים קר]את מח[סך היי]ת מחמדו[לוא]
10 תרא[ה רעה ו]לוא יגע [נגע באהל]יך כ[י מלאכיו]יצוה לך
11 לשומ[רך בדרכי]ך על כפים[ישאונ]ך פֶּן[תגוף בא]בן רגל[ך על]

[60] For notes on the Hebrew text, see Pajunen, "Qumranic Psalm," 593–97.

12 פתן [ושחל תד]רוך תרמו[ס כפיר] ותנין [ביהוה ח]שקתה ו[יפלטך]
13 ו[ישגבך ויר]אך בישוע[תו סלה] *vacat*[ ]*vacat*[ ] [ ]
14 ויע[נו אמן אמ]ן סלה [ ]*vacat*[ ]*vacat*[ ] [ ]*vacat*[
15][61]]*vacat*[ ]*vacat*[ ]

Translation

VI 3 [He that dwells] in the shelter [of the Most High, in the shadow of] Shaddai 4 [he passes the night]. He who says: ["Yahweh is my refuge] and [my] fortress, [my God] is the security [I trust]!" 5 [For h]e (God) will deliver you from [the net of the fowl]er from the dea[dly] pestilence. [With] his pinions he will cover [you], and under 6 his [wings] you will reside. [His] kindness will be your buckler and his truth your shield. *Selah. vacat* You will not fear 7 the terror of the night or the arrow that flies by day or the plague that rages at [n]oon or the pestilence 8 that stalks[in the d]ark. A thousand may f[a]ll on your left, ten th[ousand at] your [ri]ght side, but it will [no]t touch [you]. Just [look] 9 with your eyes, [and you will se]e the retribution of the wick[ed]. You have [call]ed upon [yo]ur refu[ge] and you have [been] precious to him.[62] 10 You will [not] se[e evil nor] will [a pestilence] touch your [tent]s. Fo[r his angels] he will command about you, 11 to gua[rd you on] your [ways], on their hands [they will carry] you, lest [you strike your] foot [on a s]tone. [Upon] 12 an adder [and a lion you will t]read, you will tramp[le a young lion] and a serpent. You have lov[ed YHWH] and [he will rescue you, 13 protect you and sh]ow you [his] salvation. [*Selah*]. *vacat* [ ]*vacat*[ ]

14 And they will ans[wer: Amen, Amen]. *Selah* [ ]*vacat*[ ]*vacat*[ ] 15 [ ]*vacat*[ ]*vacat*[ ]

[61] There is an extant handle attached to the end of the scroll. It was believed to be a wooden handle, the only one found among the Qumran scrolls; see Emanuel Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judaean Desert* (STDJ 54; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 116–18. However, the conservationist Elena Libman after examining the handle under a microscope was able to conclude that the handle is not wood, but tightly rolled up leather tied up with strings. A close examination of the handle with a microscope shows Libman to be correct in her assessment.

[62] I have suggested that the term מחמד means "precious/greatly beloved," in accordance with the feminine form of the same root in the Book of Daniel (9:23; 10:11, 19), and the verb conveys the idea that the person is a dear person to God.

The Qumranic[63] version of Psalm 91 has a relatively large number of small variants to the Masoretic and Septuagint versions of the Psalm. Most of these variants between the versions are minor in the sense that they do not change the actual meaning of the text. There are many types of variations (transpositions of colons and word order, different words used to convey the same thought, etc.). In many cases, the Qumranic version is clearly later than the others. The reason for most of these later variants is to be found in the structure of the Qumranic version, which is characterized by the use of concentric structures and other poetic devices.[64] Their use is the work of an editor who has thus pointed out his interpretation of the movement and focal points of the Psalm that can be observed in a broad thematic arrangement of the Psalm's structure.

First stanza

A	1–2	Fivefold image of God as a place of protection
B	3	Promise of salvation
A	4	Fourfold image of God as a protective device shielding the body

Second stanza

A	5–6	Fourfold image of dangers facing man that he need not fear
B	7–8	Description of God's protection of the righteous
C	9	Believer's action that evokes this Godly protection
B	10–12	Description of God's protection of the righteous
A	13	Fourfold image of dangers facing man that he need not fear

Third stanza

A	14–16	Promise of salvation

A strong image of God as the protector and savior arises. The focus of this Psalm is obviously not on the dangers presented, but on the protec-

[63] The word "Qumranic" is meant to designate the place of discovery—not the composer or even user—of this Psalm. It is merely used here as a means of differentiating it from other versions of this psalm.

[64] For a more thorough presentation of the Qumranic Psalm 91 and its features, see Pajunen, "Qumranic Psalm."

tion. The dangers are just a side note. Their function is to encompass life's threats in full. The idea of divine protection is common to all versions of the Psalm. What is new in the Qumranic version is the explicit inclusion of the three requirements for obtaining this protection and future salvation. The first two (confession that God alone is the shelter to be relied upon and being among those precious to him) may be implicitly present in the Masoretic version, but the editor has made them explicit by his interpretation of the first two stanzas given in verse 9. The third requirement (loving God) is present in both versions.

The Psalm's relation to demons and exorcism is therefore not self-evident. It is certainly not an incantation meant to banish an evil spirit as it lacks the structural parts common to such invocations described in Nitzan's study.[65] Also absent is a direct speech to a demon, which Eshel's study has shown to be an integral part of such an incantation.[66] The Psalm is first and foremost a psalm of protection, and it could have been used as a shield against life's dangers. Evil spirits were prominent among those dangers, so Eshel is quite right in suggesting Psalm 91 could also have been used as a protective song against demons.[67]

The Movement of the Ritual and Its Possible Settings

The psalm compilation on 11QapocrPs consists of several incantations and one or more apotropaic prayers that together form a ritual of exorcism.[68] Even though the compilation is identifiable by its content as a ritual of exorcism, it is not clear what it was actually used for. There is no description of how the ritual was performed as far as gestures and such are concerned. Josephus (*Ant.* 8.46–49) tells of a man named

[65] Nitzan, "Hymns from Qumran," 55.
[66] Eshel, "Apotropaic Prayers," 69–88.
[67] Ibid., 84–86. Cf. Ida Fröhlich, "Invoke At Any Time ...," *BN* 137 (2008): 41–74, esp. 44; Lincicum, "Scripture and Apotropaism," 75–76.
[68] The internal and external indicators for the ritual use of 11Q11 have been analyzed in Pajunen, "The Function," 50–60.

Eleazar who banishes a demon with a Solomonic incantation and pulls the demon out through the nostrils of the afflicted, and specific magical gestures and words used during healing rites are also attested in the New Testament (e.g., Mark 7:31–35, which relates Jesus' healing of a deaf man with a speech impediment by placing his fingers in the man's ears, spitting and touching the man's tongue, and uttering the word *Ephphatha* "be opened"). There is no indication in the extant scroll as to whether such things were also done in connection with this ritual. The only thing that can be readily observed is the general way the recitation proceeds, which enables at least two different settings for the use of the ritual depending on whether the ritual is seen more in concrete or metaphorical terms, i.e., dealing with an actual observable attack by an evil spirit (sickness) or as a safeguard against possible (but not evident) demonic intrusion. The two settings are not mutually exclusive and the ritual could have been actualized according to the situation, or the usage might have varied over time. These settings inferable from the text of the ritual itself correlate well with the two settings of an exorcism ritual known from the sources: healing a person afflicted by a demon and entrance into a religious community.

The first and perhaps the most self-evident use of such a ritual would be the healing of a person stricken by an evil spirit.[69] This kind of usage is described in the Hebrew Bible, New Testament, Josephus, and Qumran material such as the *Genesis Apocryphon*. In this case the ritual would be an answer to an acute situation when it is observed (according to the contemporary knowledge) that someone is possessed by an evil spirit. The Solomonic psalm (II 1–III 13) would be used either to provide protection from many different categories of demons or more likely, in light of the following two psalms, to banish them. It is also noteworthy that in this psalm there is a plea to God for a cure and support (II 6–9) as well as a response to this, that is, the granting of power over the demons (III 11). These are aspects that are not found in the other psalms, but which of course are by the use of this psalm also

[69] Suggested as the setting of the ritual by Puech, "11QPsAp^a," 400; Sanders, "A Liturgy," 216; Alexander, "Wrestling," 326; Lichtenberger, "Ps 91," 420; Arnold, *The Social*, 167.

granted for the rest of the ritual. The next psalm (IV 1–V 3) is meant to banish a specific demon whose name is now lost and the penultimate psalm expels Satan (V 4–VI 3). It seems that the "lesser" demons were cast out first and the most powerful was left as the last. The final part of the ritual is made up of the Qumranic Psalm 91 (VI 3–13), which gains a different emphasis as part of this scroll than as an individual Psalm. The actual casting out of the demon(s) has already been accomplished by the previous psalms. In Psalm 91, the healed person confirms his faith in God (v. 2) and is granted the promise of divine protection against further demonic attacks. It gives an assurance of peace for the person who was healed, i.e., you were cured and since you have relied on God he will watch over you also in the future so you need not fear the return of the demon/affliction. Psalm 91 thus acts as a release at the end of the healing ritual.

The second possible setting of the ritual is related to one of the particularly interesting details concerning the ritual as described in 11Q11. The available sources tell only of individual exorcists who cure afflicted people with incantations.[70] However, this seems to be a complex ritual, which might actually have been used by a liturgical community. Evidence pointing to such a practice is found in the use of personal forms and the term *selah*. Although the use of personal forms varies a bit between the individual psalms the "characters" stay constantly the same. There is a reciter (explicitly present in II 6–9 and possibly III 11), the afflicted person (in the last two psalms: V 5, 11; VI 5–13), a larger community (III 11; VI 14), evil spirits (addressed in the 2nd person singular in the two clear incantations in IV 1–VI 3 and otherwise in a more general way) and God (direct address in II 6–9, otherwise more general references). The whole text is built so that one person can recite it addressing the afflicted, the demons, the community and God in turn. The first of the communal references speaks about God granting the community power over demons. The second occurrence is the ending of the whole ritual, which is written distinctly apart from the rest of

[70] Sometimes several of these are traveling together; cf. Mark 6:7, Acts 19:13–16.

the text: "And they shall answer: Amen, Amen. *Selah*." Although the phrase is partly in a lacuna, there are no convincing alternative reconstructions.[71] Thus, the verb is most likely a plural, which would indicate a community that participates in the ritual at least in this way. Amen, Amen is attested in many texts (e.g., Pss 41, 72, 89, 4QBer[a,b,d], 4QDibHam) and there are at least two texts that narrate a ritual that has a congregation responding in this way, viz., Neh 8:6, (see also 5:13) and 1QS 1:18–2:26.[72] The term *selah* in turn is used consistently in this manuscript as a division marker (VI 3, 6, 14 and a likely reconstruction in V 3; VI 13). This use of *selah* does point to a recital of consecutive psalms and furthermore towards an audience being present as the use of *vacates* would have been enough to mark the divisions for a reader. Therefore, it is quite plausible that this ritual might have been a communal one.

This is quite remarkable in the sense that as people thought to be afflicted by demons were essentially impure they would have been shunned by other people, not welcomed into a communal gathering to be cured. Even if some sources do describe people being present during an exorcism there is no indication that they might have participated in the actual act in any way. This makes it likely that such a communal ritual would have been used only by a close-knit assembly with a cohesive group ideology that could have connected the communal use of an exorcism ritual to a struggle against the forces of darkness as representatives of the impure and sinful world outside the movement.

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[71] Alexander, "Wrestling," 326, argues that the ritual is not a communal one, and the only persons enacting the ritual are the "healer" and the afflicted person. Therefore, Alexander reconstructs "he shall answer" instead of "they shall answer." This is not possible as the *he* would make the word too long for the lacuna. The *waw* needed for the reconstruction of "they" does not really take much extra space as it is largely written on top of the *nun*, but *he* would require a space of its own. "They shall answer" fills the lacuna perfectly, but fitting "he shall answer" would require the scribe to write in a tighter script than elsewhere and there is no reason to assume this. Furthermore, while Alexander is correct about the afflicted being referred to in the second person singular throughout (although present only in the last two psalms) he fails to note that the audience is likely present already in III 11 and not just at the ending nor does he explain why the 2nd person singular address of the afflicted would preclude an audience also participating in the ritual.

[72] See also Deut 27:15–26.

Related to such a viewpoint is another, more metaphorical, use of the ritual, which would be to use it when new members are admitted into a movement.[73] In this case the ritual would be used as a safeguard to prevent possible demonic intrusion for which there is no visible evidence in the admissible members. Sectarian movements drew strict boundaries between the impure outside world and the pure insiders. Demons were the embodiment of impurity.[74] Moreover, they afflict people with diseases causing ritual impurity, as well as tempt them into acts that generate moral impurity. Thus it would stand to reason that it was made certain that they did not enter among the pure people of such a community. It is also worth noting how the wording of the ritual would have affected the community members enacting it. It would have strengthened group cohesion as a way of partitioning the chosen pure insiders off from the outside world at the mercy of the demonic powers.[75] If used in such a context, the exorcisms would banish any possible evil spirits from the person entering the movement guaranteeing his compatibility with the pure community members, and in Psalm 91 the person would then confirm his faith in God (v. 2) after which he is granted the promise of protection from all evil among those precious to God (vv. 9 and 14–16). Unfortunately there is nothing more concrete

[73] The individual psalms in 11Q11 are not from the Qumran movement. Puech, "11QPsAp[a]," 402–3; Eshel, "Apotropaic," 69; and Arnold, *The Social*, 166, have argued that the psalms are non-sectarian with Puech dealing with the issue more thoroughly than the others. However, it is possible that the ritual was compiled by the movement and at the same time modified into a communal one as Psalm 91 in 11Q11 has gone through a redaction related particularly to the use of personal forms and similar treatment of the other psalms could have been easily implemented when making the compilation. If Bohak, *Ancient Jewish*, 303–5, is correct that there are unpublished long parallels to the penultimate psalm, such parallels might be able to shed further light on this question.

[74] Frequently also referred to as unclean spirits in the New Testament, but also several times in Hebrew (e.g., Zech 13:2; 11QPs[a] 19:15). For an analysis of the Hebrew (and Aramaic) texts, see Armin Lange, "Considerations Concerning the 'Spirit of Impurity' in Zech 13:2," in *Demons: The Demonology of Israelite-Jewish and Early Christian Literature in Context of their Environment* (ed. A. Lange, H. Lichtenberger, and D. K. F. Römheld; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 254–67.

[75] It is important to distinguish between the function of a text and how it might have affected people if used in a particular setting. For the way the *Hodayot* psalms could have affected people of the Qumran movement, see Carol Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran* (STDJ 52; Leiden: Brill, 2004).

to base this suggestion on (except anachronistic early Christian rituals), but purely from the sequence of the psalms/thoughts it is a possibility. Furthermore, it has to be borne in mind that the Christian initiation ceremonies that used incantations might have had precursors in other Jewish movements. The communal character of the baptism is one possible connecting detail between these rituals and it is striking that Jesus is baptized in the gospels directly before being tempted by Satan and Psalm 91 is utilized in this narrative. If baptism/other communal initiation rites where thought to give a person the power to deny Satan and fight against the intrusion of other demons as well, it might explain why the temptation follows the baptism narrative so closely. But as intriguing as this second possible usage of the ritual of exorcism in 11Q11 is, the most plausible usage for it would still be the curing of an afflicted person. Whichever option is chosen as the setting of the ritual (or even if both of them are applicable) it is important to note that in a sense, regardless of the setting, a ritual of exorcism is at the same time also a ritual of purification.[76]

Conclusions

This study has shown how beneficial it can be to use all the available traditions concerning a religious practice, not just those closest to one's own scholarly discipline. It has taken into account not only the Qumran evidence, but the Hebrew Bible, the New Testament, the accounts of Josephus and even slightly later Jewish incantations. In the future the horizon should probably be expanded even further by taking into account other ancient Near Eastern cultures and Greek evidence as well, but even utilizing only the available Jewish source material allows for a fuller appreciation of the nuances in the texts. This study has concentrated on analyzing the ritual of exorcism in 11QapocrPs, first by a close reading of its individual components and their form-critical ele-

[76] These observations coincide well with Arnold's placement of this ritual under the category of rites of affliction; see Arnold, *The Social*, 159–61, 167.

ments in their tradition-critical background, and then exploring the extant ritual in its entirety. The ritual consists of five or more incantations and apotropaic prayers and was meant to expel demons from a person. The ritual might have been used to cure persons actually thought to be afflicted by demons, or it could have been utilized as a cleansing act followed by the establishment of a protective shield against demonic intrusion that would allow a person to be admitted among a community particularly concerned about warding off the outside world and its dangers. The sources used in this study have proven to be very helpful for furthering our understanding of 11Q11 but it has been a two-way street and there is much that 11Q11 and its contemporary traditions can teach us concerning exorcism practices in the last decades of the Second Temple period. This treasure trove is yet to be fully appreciated and utilized by scholars working on New Testament exorcisms, but this study can hopefully play a small part in paving the way for more intensive collaboration between the scholarly disciplines working on this topic.

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Exploring the Transmission of the Divine Will

MARTTI NISSINEN

Oracles at Qumran?

Traces of Inspired Speakers in the Dead Sea Scrolls*

The Persistence of Prophecy in the Dead Sea Scrolls

Prophecy appears in the Dead Sea Scrolls first and foremost as inspired interpretation of sacred texts, that is, as a scribal enterprise.[1] No explicit evidence of oral/aural prophetic performances has been identified so far in the Dead Sea Scrolls, and there are not many texts that could be used as evidence for the continuation of the prophetic phenomenon. However, some recent studies on prophecy in the Dead Sea Scrolls have highlighted the significance of prophecy, not only as a concept related

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[1] See, e.g., George J. Brooke, "Les mystères des prophètes et les oracles d'exégèse: Continuité et discontinuité dans la prophètie à Qumran," in *Comment devient-on prophète? Actes du colloque organisé par le Collège de France, Paris, les 4–5 avril 2011* (ed. J.-M. Durand, T. Römer, and M. Bürki; OBO 265; Fribourg: Academic Press and Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014), 159–66.

to ancient prophets and the interpretation of authoritative scriptures but also as ongoing practice.

George Brooke has identified five aspects of the continuation of prophecy in the Dead Sea Scrolls: the life in the wilderness as a symbolic prophetic action; the divinatory activities such as lot-casting (1QS 5:3, etc.) and physiognomy (4Q186); the distinction between true and false prophets; the literary interpretation of the biblical prophetic texts; and the eschatological vision of the Qumran community.[2] Samuel Thomas has recognized the prophetic nature of the "mystery" texts and language in the Dead Sea Scrolls,[3] and Alex Jassen has detected the persistence of prophetic activity in the polemics against "lying prophets " in the *Hodayot* (1QH^a 12:5–17) and the "movers of the boundary" in the *Damascus Document* (CD 5:20–6:2), as well as in the traces of a prophetic conflict in the *Temple Scroll* (11Q19 54:8–18); the *Apocryphon of Moses* (4Q375); and the *List of False Prophets* (4Q339).[4]

The texts discussed by Jassen present contemporary prophetic goings-on in an entirely negative light. This raises the question whether prophecy was recognized in any positive sense as a contemporary oracular practice by and within the Qumran movement and its historical environs, and whether this is in any way visible in the Dead Sea Scrolls. I would like to discuss this issue with regard to three texts: the *Vision and Interpretation* (4Q410), the *Mysteries* (1Q27), and the so-called *Self-Glorification Hymn* known to us in no less than four different literary contexts (1QH^a 26:6–14; 4Q427 7i 7–13; 4Q471b; 4Q491c). I am not going to make strong claims about the correspondence of the wording of these texts with actually spoken words, since *ipsissima verba* are

[2] George J. Brooke, "La Prophétie de Qumrân," in *Les recueils prophétiques de la Bible: Origines, milieux, et contexte proche-oriental* (ed. J.-D. Macchi et al.; *MdB* 64; Geneva: Labor et Fides, 2012), 480–510; see also idem, "Prophecy," in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. J. C. VanderKam and L. Schiffman; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 2:694–700; idem, "Prophecy and Prophets in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Looking Backwards and Forwards," in *Prophets, Prophecy, and Prophetic Texts in Second Temple Judaism* (ed. M. H. Floyd and R. D. Haak; LHBOTS 427; New York and London: T&T Clark, 2006), 151–65.

[3] Samuel I. Thomas, *The "Mysteries" of Qumran: Mystery, Secrecy, and Esotericism in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (SBLEJL 25; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2009), 188–220.

[4] Alex P. Jassen, *Mediating the Divine: Prophecy and Revelation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Judaism* (STDJ 68; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 279–308.

probably as impossible to identify in the Dead Sea Scrolls as they are in the Hebrew Bible or in Near Eastern texts. I would nevertheless like to discuss the origin of these passages in oral/aural or otherwise oracular[5] activity as a distinct possibility, first and foremost as examples of interpretative processes that may have begun in an oracular performance and subsequently ended up in written form in different kinds of literary contexts—a process so often detected from biblical and ancient Near Eastern sources.

Vision and Interpretation (4Q410)

> 1 […] which […] 2 […] cross over all […] 3 […] which are lifted (?), not […] 4 […] for you, and curse upon cu[rs]e will cleave [to] you 5 […] upon you, and you will not have there peace […] 6 […] what is good in truth and what is bad in […] 7 [… a]ll days of eternity. *vacat*
>
> And now I with (the help) of the L[ord] in spirit (ברוח) 8 [saw what will come upon t]hem, and it will not lie, the or[acle, and it will] not [be s]ilent 9 [the vision *vacat* Concerning …] is the oracle (משאה) and concerning the house of [… is the] vision (החזון), f[or] I have [s]awn (ראיתי) 10 […] and h[e] defied the T[orah of God] 11 [……][6]

The first text, the *Vision and Interpretation* (4Q410), is poorly preserved and has, therefore, not attracted much scholarly attention. It can be grouped together with other visionary texts, some of which are clearly presented as visions of ancient figures such as the *Visions of Amram*[a–g] ar (4Q543–549), while others may contain reports of contemporary visions. What remains of the *Vision and Interpretation* is very fragmentary

[5] Since I understand prophecy as one kind of divination, and prophetic activity as one type of oracular activity, the word "oracle" is used in this article of all "verbal communications to humans from the gods or other supernatural beings" (thus John Bowden, "Oracles," in *OEAGR* 5 [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010], 106–8, esp. 106), including prophecies.

[6] Translation after the edition of Annette Steudel in Stephen J. Pfann et al, *Qumran Cave 4 XXVI* (DJD 36; Oxford: Clarendon Press 2000), 316–19 + pl. XXI; cf. Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 2:840–41.

and does not yield much information on the circumstances, content, and interpretation of the vision in question.[7] Nevertheless, the largest fragment has luckily preserved a section of the text where, to all appearances, the report of the vision ends (lines 1–7) and is followed after a blank space by a commentary in which the visionary speaks in the first person singular (lines 7–11).

The vision, judging from the concluding lines, is a prophecy of doom: "curse upon cu[rs]e will cleave [to] you – – – you will not have there peace." In the commentary, the first-person speaker explicitly refers to something he (she?) has seen (ראיתי line 9), refers to the spirit (רוח line 7) under the influence and authorization of which this has happened, and assures the reader that the oracle will not fail. The vision itself is called either המשא or החזון (line 9), and the definite article gives the impression that both words refer to nothing else but the vision described earlier in the same text.

In the words of Alex Jassen, "4QVision and Interpretation provides a tantalizing piece of what was likely a larger visionary text."[8] Moreover, the very fact that a first-person commentary has been added to the vision report strongly suggests that what we have here is not a vision of a legendary ancient seer but an actual oracle that has been received and transmitted by a contemporary person who pleads with his/her audience to heed to its message. That the vision and its interpretation have been preserved in written form indicates that it was indeed not neglected by the community, and that the seer in question had been acknowledged as a reliable source of divine revelation for the community. But which community should we imagine as the first audience of this text? The manuscript is too poorly preserved to answer this question, hence there

[7] Armin Lange, "Die Weisheitstexte aus Qumran: Eine Einleitung," in *The Wisdom Texts from Qumran and the Development of Sapiental Thought* (ed. C. Hempel, A. Lange, and H. Lichtenberger; BETL 159; Leuven: Peeters, 2002), 3–30, esp. 6: "Die noch erhaltenen, stark beschädigten vier Frag. von 4QVision and Interpretation lassen nur noch eine kurze Visionsbeschreibung mit anschließender Auslegung (7ff.) erkennen."
[8] Jassen, *Mediating the Divine*, 67 n. 5.

is no certainty about its origin in the Qumran community, but a pre- or extra-Qumran origin is likewise possible.[9]

Since we do not know how, when, and by whom the vision was received, it is impossible to know whether it goes back to a public oral performance. Nevertheless, visionary activity as such is oracular activity in the sense of transmission of divine knowledge through an inspired individual. In this sense, if the *Vision and Interpretation* contains a report of an actual vision seen by the I-speaker, it can be read as a specimen of contemporary oracular activity, whether it took place in the Qumran community or elsewhere.

Mysteries (1Q27 I 1–10)

1 […] all […] 2 […] mysteries of sin 3 [… all] their wisd[om]. And they do not know the mystery of existence (רז נהיה), nor understand ancient matters. And they do not 4 know what is going to happen to them; and they will not save their souls from the mystery of existence. *vacat*

5 *And this will be for you the sign* (וזה לכם האות) [that this is going to happen]. When those born of sin are locked up, evil will disappear before justice as [da]rkness disappears before 6 light. As smoke vanishes, and n[o] longer exists, so will evil vanish for ever. And justice will be revealed like the sun which regulates 7 the world. And all those who curb the wonderful mysteries will no longer exist. And knowledge will pervade the world, and there will ne[ver] be folly there. 8 *This word will undoubtedly happen* (נכון הדבר לבוא), *the prediction is truthful* (ואמת משאה).

And by this he will show you that it is irrevocable: Do not all 9 nations loathe sin? And yet, it is about by the hands of all them. Does not praise of truth come from the mouth of all nations? 10 And yet, is there perhaps one lip or one tongue which persists with it. – – –[10]

[9] This is also the case of the *Visions of Amram*; see Jonas C. Greenfield, Michael E. Stone, and Esther Eshel, *The Aramaic Levi Document: Edition, Translation, Commentary* (SVTP 19; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 31; Hanna Tervanotko, *Denying Her Voice: The Figure of Miriam in Ancient Jewish Literature* (JAJSup; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, forthcoming).

[10] Edition: J. T. Milik in D. Barthélemy and J. T. Milik, *Qumran Cave I* (DJD 1; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), 102–7; translation after García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead*

My second example of the possible afterlife of an original oracle is the opening section of *Mysteries* preserved in 1Q27 (partly also in 4Q300, fragment 3). The first column of fragment 1 can be divided into three parts. The first part (lines 1–4) constitutes an introductory chapter mentioning an "out-group," that is, people who do not know the "mystery of existence" (the translation of the term רז נהיה, prevalent in *Mysteries* as well as in *Instruction*, is not our concern here). The second part (lines 5–8) is a future-oriented section predicting how "knowledge will pervade the world and there will ne[ver] be folly there"; and the third part (lines 8–12) reads like a wisdom passage in which questions and comments alternate, and which "serves as a proof for the correctness of the prediction preceding it."[11]

This is a carefully designed textual unit, within which the middle section (lines 5–8) stands out as a description of what Matthew Goff calls the "key event" of *Mysteries*: the ultimate transformation of the world and the elimination of the wicked.[12] This is expressed in a quasi-poetic language; it has a certain rhythm and a clear structure based on dualistic dichotomies, but it does not follow the parallelistic pattern. As Torleif Elgvin has recently shown, it alludes to several biblical texts: line 7 rephrases Isa 11:9 and Hab 2:14; line 8 uses language from Deut 13:15 and 17:4; and the whole passage could be read as the implementation of the judgment on the diviners in Isa 47.[13] The content of the passage also bears a certain resemblance to the *Community Rule*.[14]

Sea Scrolls Study Edition, 1:66–69; cf. the translation of Wise, Abegg, Cook, and Gordon in Donald W. Parry and Emanuel Tov, *Calendrical and Sapiential Texts* (DSSR 4; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 198–99.

[11] David Flusser, "The 'Book of Mysteries' and the High Holy Days Liturgy," in *Judaism of the Second Temple Period,* Volume 1: *Qumran and Apocalypticism* (ed. D. Flusser and A. Yadin; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2007), 119–39, esp. 125.

[12] Matthew J. Goff, *Discerning Wisdom: The Sapiental Literature of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (VTSup 116; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 86.

[13] Torleif Elgvin, "The Use of Scripture in 1Q/4QMysteries," in *New Perspectives on Old Texts: Proceedings of the Tenth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 9–11 January, 2005* (ed. E. G. Chazon, B. Halpern-Amaru, and R. A. Clements; STDJ 88; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 117–31.

[14] See Flusser, "The 'Book of Mysteries'," 128.

An important structural feature is that the prediction in the middle section is framed by divinatory terminology. It is introduced with a phrase known from the Hebrew Bible[15] as well as from Luke 2:12: "And this shall be a sign unto you" (וזה לכם האות line 5), the word האות explicitly referring to what follows and signaling the ominous nature of the text. At the end of the prediction we read: "This word will definitely happen, and the oracle is truthful" (נכון הדבר לבוא ואמת משאה line 8). Such a clear structure, in my view, indicates that it is precisely the preceding passage, rather than an external source, that is referred to with הדבר and המשא, again with definite articles like in the *Vision and Interpretation*. These divinatory terms correspond to האות on line 5, presenting the section explicitly as an oracle.

It deserves attention that the word משא in this meaning[16] is not at all common in the Dead Sea Scrolls. To my knowledge, derived from the DSSEL database, the word appears only here and in the *Vision and Interpretation*, plus in the *Vision of Samuel* (4Q160), a paraphrase of 1 Sam 3:14–17.[17] In 4Q160, משא replaces the Masoretic מראה, "vision," on line 4; on the next line, the text uses the expression מראה האלוהים, "vision of God," not to be found in the Masoretic Text.[18] Hence, every time the word משא appears in the Dead Sea Scrolls, it is paralleled by another divinatory term: חזון (4Q410), דבר (1Q27), or מראה (4Q160). The word, thus, presents itself as the outcome of intuitive divination, translatable as "oracle" or "prophecy."

But what kind of divination is this? Elgvin characterizes the author as "a self-conscious writer (or writers) who deliberately plays with biblical phrases, reasoning them in new contexts,"[19] and this is without

[15] Exod 3:12; 1 Sam 2:34; 2 Kgs 19:29; 20:9; Isa 37:30; 38:7 (וזה לך האות); 1 Sam 14:10 (וזה לנו האות).

[16] Other meanings include "burden" or "task"; see Martin G. Abegg et al, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Concordance*: *The Non-Biblical Texts from Qumran*, Part One (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 1:489.

[17] Cf. 4Q182 2 1, but the text of the fragment is too broken to suggest the meaning of משא with any degree of probability: ם[מי]היתרית לאחרשא מ[(perhaps translatable as: "…or]acle for the last d[ay]s").

[18] See the edition in John M. Allegro, *Qumrân Cave 4 I: 4Q158–4Q186* (DJDJ 5; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 9.

[19] Elgvin, "The Use of Scripture," 129.

doubt a correct description of the author(s) of *Mysteries* in general, especially when combined with Goff's notion that *Mysteries* forms new genres by drawing from older sources and traditions in new ways.[20] Furthermore, Thomas has noted that the use of prophetic tropes and motifs is one of the important aspects of the use of mystery language in the Dead Sea Scrolls.[21] My question is whether they are used only with regard to existing authoritative texts or whether there was room for ongoing "sapiential revelation" (to use a term launched by Jassen[22]) that was not of purely scribal nature, but was believed to be received by a contemporary seer such as the one speaking in the *Vision and Interpretation*. In other words: Was the mystery sometimes transmitted *as* a prophetic oracle?

The framing of the oracle in 1Q27 1 I 5–8 strongly suggests that the oracle, designated by words אות and משא is a quotation, perhaps from a contemporary source. The lines read like a biblically inspired oracle recontextualized and embedded in the opening section of *Mysteries* as definitive revelatory knowledge about "what is going to happen." Again, it remains impossible to determine whether or not the oracle can be seen as a written version of an oral performance. The biblical allusions as such do not invalidate this assumption, since even inspired speakers can be thoroughly versed in scriptures.

The present literary context of the oracle does not give any kind of a hint at any proclamation situation, and it is improbable that the Qumran community was its first audience.[23] However, *Mysteries* is

[20] Matthew J. Goff, "Qumran Wisdom Literature and the Problem of Genre," *DSD* 17 (2010): 315–35, esp. 326.
[21] See the texts quoted by Thomas, *The "Mysteries" of Qumran*, 207–20.
[22] Jassen, *Mediating the Divine*, 241.
[23] Cf. Torleif Elgvin, "Priestly Sages?: The Milieus of Origin of 4QMysteries and 4QInstruction," in *Sapiential Perspectives: Wisdom Literature in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls, Proceedings of the Sixth International Symposium of the Orion Center, 20–22 May, 2001* (ed. J. J. Collins, G. E. Sterling, and R. A. Clements; STDJ 51; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 67–87, esp. 71; Goff, *Discerning Wisdom*, 99–100. Cf. also Armin Lange ("In Diskussion mit dem Tempel: Zur Auseinandersetzung zwischen Kohelet und weisheitlichen Kreisen am Jerusalemer Tempel," in *Qohelet in the Context of Wisdom* [ed. A. Schoors; BETL 136; Leuven: Peeters, 1998], 113–59, esp. 157), who derives the origin of *Mysteries* from the temple of Jerusalem.

clearly written for a group that was self-assured about its elect status, viewing itself as possessing revealed wisdom (רז נהיה) not available to their opponents—probably diviners whose divinatory methods were disqualified.[24]

The *Self-Glorification Hymn* (4Q491c 1 5–11)

> 5 […et]ernal; a mighty throne in the congregation of the gods above which none of the kings of the East shall sit, and their nobles no[t …] silence (?) 6 […] my glory is in{comparable} and besides me no-one is exalted, nor comes to me, for I reside in […], in the heavens, and there is no 7 […] … I am counted among the gods (עם אלים) and my dwelling is in the holy congregation (בעדת קודש); [my] des[ire] is not according to the flesh, [but] all that is precious to me is in (the) glory (of) 8 […] the holy [dwel]ling. [W]ho has been considered despicable on my account? And who is comparable to me in glory? Who, like the sailors, will come back and tell? 9 […] Who bea[rs all] sorrows like me? And who [suffe]rs evil like me? There is no-one. I have been instructed, and there is no teaching comparable 10 [to my teaching …] And who will attack me when [I] op[en my mouth]? And who can endure the flow of my lips? And who will confront me and retain comparison with my judgment? 11 [… friend of the king (ידיד המלך), companion of the holy ones (רע לקודשים) … incomparable, f]or among the gods is [my] posi[tion, and] my glory is with the sons of the king (כיא אניא עם אלים מעמדי וכבודי עם בני המלך). To me (belongs) [pure] gold, and to me, the gold of Ophir 12 – – –[25]

The third text under scrutiny is the so-called *Self-Glorification Hymn*, thus designated because of the first-person speaker who presents himself as a member of the congregation of gods. More or less similar versions of this passage can be found in four different manuscripts, and its placement in contexts such different as the *Hodayot* and the *War Scroll*

[24] Cf. 4Q299 3 and 4Q300 1; see Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, "Your Wisdom and Your Folly: The Case of 1–4QMysteries," in *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Biblical Tradition* (ed. F. García Martínez; BETL 168; Leuven: Peeters, 2003), 69–88.

[25] Translation after García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 2: 980–81; cf. the translation of Wise, Abegg, Cook, and Gordon in Donald W. Parry and Emanuel Tov, *Texts Concerned with Religious Law* (The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader 1; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 254–57.

indicates a complicated editorial history, which has been the subject of intensive study for quite some time. It is commonly assumed that these manuscripts represent two recensions of the same work, Recension A (1QH[a] 26, 4Q427, 4Q471b+4Q431) and Recension B (4Q491c), either so that the one derives from the other or that the two recensions share a common source.[26] However, Florentino García Martínez has argued that the relationship between 4Q491c with the other manuscripts is generic rather than genetic.[27] Both ways, the *Self-Glorification Hymn* pops out from its extant contexts in a way that makes it reasonable to assume that it originates independently of the rest of both textual corpora.[28]

Another widely discussed topic is the identity of the speaker of the *Self-Glorification Hymn*. Several figures have been suggested: the archangel Michael;[29] Enoch (cf. *1 En.* 45:3);[30] Menachem the Essene;[31] the Teacher of Righteousness or his disciple;[32] each member of the community for him- or herself;[33] an eschatological priest;[34] or, as has recent-

[26] See, e.g., Jean Duhaime, *The War Texts: 1QM and Related Manuscripts* (CQS 6; New York: T&T Clark, 2004), 35–40; Michael Wise, "מי כמוני באלים: A Study of 4Q491c, 4Q471b, 4Q427 7 and 1QH[a] 25:35–26:10," *DSD* 7 (2000): 173–219; Esther Eshel, "4Q471b: A Self-Glorification Hymn," *RevQ* 17 (1996): 175–203.

[27] Florentino García Martínez, "Old Texts and Modern Mirages: The 'I' of Two Qumran Hymns," in *Qumranica Minora 1: Qumran Origins and Apocalypticism* (ed. E. J. C. Tigchelaar; STDJ 63; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 105–25.

[28] Cf. John J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star: Messianism in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1997), 147; similarly Eileen Schuller, "A Hymn from a Cave Four *Hodayot* Manuscript: 4Q427 7 i + ii," *JBL* 112 (1993): 605–28, esp. 628.

[29] Thus the author of the *editio princeps*: Maurice Baillet, *Qumrân grotte 4 III (4Q482–4Q520)* (DJD 7; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982).

[30] Eric Miller, "The Self-Glorification Hymn Reexamined," *Hen* 31 (2009): 307–24.

[31] Israel Knohl, *The Messiah before Jesus* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 80–86.

[32] Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Opening the Sealed Book: Interpretations of the Book of Isaiah in Late Antiquity* (Grand Rapids Mich.: Eerdmans, 2006), 272–82; idem, "The Servant of the Lord, the Teacher of Righteousness, and the Exalted One of 4Q491c Source," in *Far from Minimal: Celebrating the Work and Influence of Philip R. Davies* (ed. D. Burns and J. W. Rogerson; LHBOTS 484; London and New York: T&T Clark, 2012), 41–51.

[33] Wise, "מי כמוני באלים," 216–19.

[34] Collins, *The Scepter and the Star*, 147; cf. Esther Eshel, "The Identification of the 'Speaker' of the Self-Glorification Hymn," in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues* (ed. D. W. Parry and E. C. Ulrich; STDJ 30; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 619–35.

ly been suggested by Joseph Angel, a priestly member of the Qumran community who shares his heavenly experience with the community in a liturgical context.[35] García Martínez identifies two different speakers: Michael in the context of the *War Scroll*, and the Teacher of Righteousness in the *Hodayot* manuscripts.[36] This is entirely possible if the text has been adopted from an external source and recontextualized in these new contexts.

I would like to add that, without the two masculine epithets in "the friend (ידיד) of the king and the companion (רע) of the Holy Ones," another good candidate would be Lady Wisdom with whom the speaker shares quite a few characteristics.[37] These include the authoritative teaching; the self-praise (cf. Prov 8:22–31);[38] the position among the divine council (cf. Sir 24);[39] and even the friendship of the king (cf. Wisdom of Solomon). This raises the question whether the original "I"-speaker has been masculinized in the process of transmission.

With regard to the topic of this paper, the main question is whether there is any reason to think that the different versions of the *Self-Glorification Hymn* go back to oracular/prophetic activity. I think the suggestion of Paulo Augusto de Souza Nogueira[40] and Joseph Angel that the text originates from a ritual context makes sense and hints towards a "process of deification or angelification that accompanies participation

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[35] Joseph Angel, "The Liturgical-Eschatological Priest of the *Self-Glorification Hymn*," *RevQ* 96 (2010): 585–605. Cf. the article of Katri Antin in this volume, identifying the speaker in the context of *Hodayot* as the *maśkîl* to whom the *hodayah* is attributed.

[36] García Martínez, "Old Texts and Modern Mirages," 336, 339.

[37] Cf. John J. Collins, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (LDSS; London: Continuum, 1997), 147: "[T]here is no parallel for a speech such as we find in 4Q491 by a messianic figure. Neither is there any parallel for such claims by anyone else, with the possible exception of personified Wisdom."

[38] Cf. Blenkinsopp, *Opening the Sealed Book*, 274.

[39] Cf. Martti Nissinen, "Wisdom as Mediatrix in Sirach 24: Ben Sira, Love Lyrics, and Prophecy," in *Of God(s), Trees, Kings, and Scholars: Neo-Assyrian and Related Studies in Honour of Simo Parpola* (ed. M. Luukko, S. Svärd, and R. Mattila; StudOr 106; Helsinki: Finnish Oriental Society, 2009), 377–90.

[40] Paulo Augusto de Souza Nogueira, "Ecstatic Worship in the Self-Glorification Hymn (4Q471b, 4Q427, 4Q491c): Implications for the Understanding of an Ancient Jewish and Early Christian Phenomenon," in *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Biblical Tradition* (ed. F. García Martínez; BETL 168; Leuven: Peeters, 2003), 385–93.

in the heavenly liturgy."[41] This experience may have resulted in a performance in which a member of the cultic community assumed a prophetic role and delivered an inspired speech powerful and influential enough to become reinterpreted and recontextualized by the community. The versions of the *Self-Glorification Hymn* testify to the use and significance of the Hymn within the Qumran community, but it is entirely possible that the text, just like the *Vision and Interpretation* and *Mysteries*, derives from pre-Qumranic roots.

The wording of the "original" oracle, the identity of the first speaker, and the context in which it was first uttered can no longer be reconstructed. Originally, the implied speaker, the "I" of the text, may not be identical to the actual speaker who may have uttered the original oracle as an intermediary (as a prophet, that is) of the (semi-)divine speaker. In the process of reinterpretation and recontextualization, the identity of the speaker has become dependent on the context in which the *Self-Glorification Hymn* has been embedded, and may indeed now, as García Martínez suggests, be interpreted as a different figure in different contexts, whoever the speaker has been in earlier versions and contexts of the oracle.

Conclusion

There are no more *ipsissima verba* of prophets in the Dead Sea Scrolls than there are in the Hebrew Bible, and, therefore, there is also no conclusive proof to the assumption that any of the passages discussed above—in fact, any passage in the Dead Sea Scrolls in general—goes back to an oral performance. Nevertheless, as Brooke and Jassen have argued, not only the accusations of false prophecy against some contemporaries but also several other features indicate that there was an ongoing need for prophetic practices and divination. The revelatory encounter with the divine and the transmission of divine knowledge

[41] Thomas, *The "Mysteries" of Qumran*, 220.

took place in "modified modes,"[42] whereby the function of intermediation was probably more important than the method.

The three texts discussed here may be interpreted as an indication of the presence of inspired speakers in the communities that produced these texts: the visionary of the *Vision and Interpretation*; the one who delivered the משא concerning the fate of the false diviners; and the semidivine figure praising himself (originally, perhaps, herself) in the different versions of the *Self-Glorification Hymn*. The performances of these persons took place either in pre-Qumranic communities or in the Qumran community where they followed in the footsteps of the legendary Teacher of Righteousness. Such speakers were not called prophets—in the Dead Sea Scrolls, this designation was reserved in a positive meaning to the prophets of old only.[43] Nevertheless, there seem to have been persons (perhaps including the first-person speaker of the *Hodayot*)[44] who were acknowledged by the community to possess the רז נהיה or some other form of revealed divine knowledge to be transmitted to the community. The scarcity of evidence suggests that such a status was difficult to achieve, and the anonymity indicates that the authority of the speakers was considered subordinate to the authority of the divine knowledge intermediated by them.

I hope to have been able to demonstrate how particularly relevant the interface between wisdom, apocalypticism, and prophecy is to the mapping of the modes of the transmission of revealed knowledge. This requires crossing some boundaries that may turn out to be imaginary altogether; in the words of Elisa Uusimäki and Hanne von Weissen-

[42] Cf. Jassen, *Mediating the Divine*, 329.

[43] Cf. Martti Nissinen, "Transmitting Divine Mysteries: The Prophetic Role of Wisdom Teachers in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Scripture in Transition: Essays on Septuagint, Hebrew Bible, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of Raija Sollamo* (ed. A. Voitila and J. Jokiranta; JSJSup 126; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 513–33, esp. 521–25. See also George J. Brooke, "Was the Teacher of Righteousness Considered to Be a Prophet?" in *Prophecy after the Prophets: The Contribution of the Dead Sea Scrolls to the Understanding of Biblical and Extra-Biblical Prophecy* (ed. K. de Troyer and A. Lange; CBET 52; Leuven: Peeters, 2009), 77–97.

[44] Thomas, *The "Mysteries" of Qumran*, 208: "According to several passages in the Hodayot, the speaker, like the prophets before him, makes reference to having participated in a heavenly gathering which has resulted his apprehension of the 'mysteries,' which in turn has prepared him to 'illumine the face of many'"; see also the article of Katri Antin in this volume.

berg, "The search for interconnections between wisdom and prophecy is still in its early stages, but the references in the texts to predictions and visions call for a reassessment of the relationship of wisdom and prophecy at the turn of the common era."[45]

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[45] Elisa Uusimäki and Hanne von Weissenberg, "Viisaus ja ilmoitus Qumranin viisauskirjallisuudessa," [Wisdom and Revelation in the Wisdom Literature from Qumran] *Teologinen Aikakauskirja* 118 (2013): 235–46, esp. 244 (my translation of the Finnish original).

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KATRI ANTIN

Sages in the Divine Council

Transmitting Divine Knowledge in Sirach 24, *1 Enoch* 14–16, Daniel 7, and in Two *Hodayot* Psalms (1QH^a 12:6–13:6; 20:7–22:42)

> We do not see our emblems; there is no longer any prophet, and there is no one among us who knows how long (Ps 74:9).[1]

The essential task of a prophet, or any kind of diviner, is to mediate divine messages from the divinity to other human beings.[2] The author of Psalm 74 laments the absence of such a mediator. Relying on the witnesses of Psalm 74, as well as, for example, on 1 Macc 9:27, the conventional view among biblical scholars was for a long time that in the post-exilic period prophecy had ended and made room for apocalyptic and sapiential teaching. This assumption has recently been challenged by many scholars who claim that, in some circles, the essential function

[1] Throughout this article, the translations of the Hebrew Bible and the book of Ben Sira are given according to the *New Revised Standard Version*.

[2] Prophecy and divination have the same goal, namely transmission of divine knowledge. Thus, prophecy can be seen as one form of divination. Inductive or technical divination requires education and material objects (e.g., reading the stars or the liver), and it was regarded as a science in the ancient Near East. Non-inductive forms of divination do not require scholarly education because the methods are intuitive (e.g., dreams, visions, prophecy); Martti Nissinen, "What is Prophecy? An Ancient Near Eastern Perspectives," in *Inspired Speech: Prophecy in the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of Herbert B. Huffmon* (ed. J. Kaltner and L. Stulman; JSOT 378; London: T&T Clark, 2004), 21–22.

of divination (including prophecy), mediation of divine knowledge, continued throughout the Second Temple period in different forms.[3] Prophetic, apocalyptic, and mantic wisdom texts all share an interest in the transmission of divine knowledge.[4]

The notion that gods decide the fate of the world and that they reveal their decisions to human beings was a fundamental belief in the ancient Near East. In ancient Mesopotamia, for example, gods were believed to form a council which made the decisions concerning the world. Furthermore, certain people were able to mediate the decisions of that assembly to other human beings. A similar belief in the existence of the divine council and human mediators can be detected in some of the texts now in the Hebrew Bible. Although several passages in the Hebrew Bible portray prophets as mediators and favor prophecy over inductive divination,[5] there was no one true method but rather different kinds of specialists claimed they could disclose the secrets of the gods in the ancient Near East.[6]

The finding of the Dead Sea Scrolls has brought to light many previously unknown texts dealing with divine revelation[7] and has opened up new possibilities in examining how prophecy, wisdom, and revelation were conceptualized in the late Second Temple period.[8] In this

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[3] Cf., e.g., Alex P. Jassen, *Mediating the Divine: Prophecy and Revelation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Judaism* (STDJ 68; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 11–19; Lester L. Grabbe, "Poets, Scribes, or Preachers? The Reality of Prophecy in the Second Temple Period," in *Knowing the End from the Beginning: The Prophetic, the Apocalyptic, and Their Relationships* (ed. L. L. Grabbe and R. D. Haak; JSPSup 46; London: T&T Clark, 2003), 192–214; Michael H. Floyd, "Introduction," in *Prophets, Prophecy, and Prophetic Texts in Second Temple Judaism* (ed. M. H. Floyd and R. D. Haak; LHBOTS 427; New York: T&T Clark, 2006), 1–5.

[4] Lester L. Grabbe, "Prophetic and Apocalyptic: Time for New Definitions—and New Thinking," in *Knowing the End from the Beginning: The Prophetic, the Apocalyptic, and their Relationships* (ed. L. L. Grabbe and R. D. Haak; JSPSup 46; London: T& T Clark, 2003), 118–24.

[5] Concerning inductive divination, cf. n. 2.

[6] For more details, see below.

[7] Cf., e.g., the *pesharim*, *Instruction* (1Q26, 4Q415–418), *Mysteries* (1Q27, 4Q299–301), *Apocryphon of Jeremiah C* (e.g., 4Q385a, 4Q387, 4Q388a, 4Q389), *Pseudo-Ezekiel* (e.g., 4Q385,4Q385b, 4Q385c) and *David's Compositions* (11Q5 XXVII).

[8] The most comprehensive studies on the topic are: Jassen, *Mediating*; Samuel I. Thomas, *The "Mysteries" of Qumran: Mystery, Secrecy, and Esotericism in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (SBLEJL

article, it will be demonstrated how ancient Near Eastern traditions relating to the divine council and transmission of divine knowledge illuminate how revelation was perceived in the late Second Temple period. Five passages written in the Hellenistic period, namely Sirach 24, *1 Enoch* 14–16, Daniel 7, and two *Hodayot* psalms (1QH^a 12:6–13:6; 20:7–22:42),[9] draw from and adapt the ancient Near Eastern pattern in transmitting divine knowledge: they portray the divine council as a source of divine knowledge which a human mediator can transmit from the divine council to other human beings.[10] This pattern is a helpful tool in detecting similar modes in the transmission of divine knowledge but it should not be applied slavishly because the processes in different texts and cultures do vary. For example, only three passages examined in this article depict a divine mediator between the divine council and the human mediator.

First, an introduction to ancient Near Eastern, especially Mesopotamian traditions relating to the divine council is in order. Then, Martti Nissinen's research on the ancient Near Eastern pattern in transmitting divine knowledge in Sirach 24 is utilized and it is argued that a similar pattern can also be found in *1 Enoch* 14–16 and Daniel 7. In section 3, two less known compositions, *Hodayot* psalms 12:6–13:6 and 20:7–22:42, are analyzed. Of these five passages examined, the two *Hodayot* psalms are likely to be the latest, dating to the second half of the second century B.C.E.[11] These *Hodayot* psalms are psalms of thanksgiving which

25; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2009); George J. Brooke, "Prophecy and Prophets in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Looking Backwards and Forwards," in *Prophets, Prophecy, and Prophetic Texts in Second Temple Judaism* (ed. M. H. Floyd and R. D. Haak; LHBOTS 427; New York: T &T Clark, 2006).

[9] In previous scholarship, the poetic compositions in the *Hodayot* manuscripts have been called both psalms and hymns. As the *Hodayot* psalms do not meet the formal criteria of hymns, they should be called "psalms"; Eileen M. Schuller, "Recent Scholarship on the *Hodayot* 1993–2010," *CBR* 10 (2011): 121–22. Throughout this article, both the Hebrew text and the translation of 1QH^a follow Hartmut Stegemann and Eileen M. Schuller, *1QHodayot^a, with Incorporation of 1QHodayot^b and 4QHodayot$^{a–f}$* (DJD 40; Oxford: Clarendon, 2009).

[10] A similar idea can also be found in some later apocalypses like in the book of Revelation.

[11] Nickelsburg dates *1 Enoch* 12–16 around 300–250 B.C.E.; George W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch. Chapters 1–36; 81–108* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001), 230. Based on the prologue, Sirach is dated to 200–175 B.C.E.; Leo G. Perdue,

are considered to be composed by the members of the Qumran movement.[12] After analyzing how the transmission of divine knowledge is depicted in both *Hodayot* psalms, the two *Hodayot* psalms are compared to Sirach 24, *1 Enoch* 14–16, and Daniel 7. All five passages provide a similar testimony concerning the character of the human mediator, who is a sage who can transmit divine messages from the divine council to other people.

Divine Council—A Shared Tradition

The divine council was a widespread concept in the ancient Near East, as it is attested in Mesopotamian, Egyptian, Hittite, Ugaritic, Canaanite, Greek, and Jewish[13] literature from the third to the first millennium B.C.E. It was commonly believed that the divine beings constitute an assembly that decides on the fate of humankind and the earth, as well as matters concerning the divine realm. In addition to keeping counsel, the assembly is portrayed as, for example, being responsible for the creation, having banquets, taking part in warfare and joining together in praise.[14]

Especially in ancient Mesopotamian literature, certain people are depicted as mediating the decisions of the assembly to other human

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Wisdom Literature: A Theological History (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox, 2007), 235. Daniel 7–12 is dated to 167–163 B.C.E.; John J. Collins, *Daniel: A Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress, 1993), 61.

[12] Altogether eight manuscripts (1QH$^{a–b}$, 4QH$^{a–f}$) contain collections of *Hodayot* psalms. Because the oldest *Hodayot* manuscript (4QH^{b}) dates to the beginning of the first century B.C.E. it has been suggested that the psalms were already composed in the second century B.C.E. The best preserved manuscript 1QH^{a} dates to the beginning of the Common Era or shortly before; Émile Puech, "Hodayot," in *EDSS* (ed. L. H. Schiffman and J. C. VanderKam; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 1:366.

[13] In the absence of a more comprehensive term, the term "Jewish" refers to the literature produced in the kingdoms of Israel and Judah and the subsequent communities before the destruction of the Second Temple.

[14] Min Suc Kee, "A Study of the Heavenly Council in the Ancient Near Eastern Texts, and Its Employment as a Type-scene in the Hebrew Bible" (Ph.D. diss., University of Manchester, 2003), 30–68, 262–63. Cf. the divine council in Homer's *Odyssey*; Bruce Louden, *Homer's Odyssey and the Near East* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 16–29.

beings. Two kinds of professionals, diviners and scholars, could learn the divine secrets. The Mesopotamian inductive diviners were able to consult the divine council and received their answer by using various techniques, for example, by reading the liver.[15] Intuitive diviners, prophets, dreamers, and seers, also acquired knowledge from the heavenly assembly, but by other means. Sometimes diviners are portrayed as participating in the council, and, at other times, a divinity, as a member of the council, serves as a divine mediator.[16] Second, the Mesopotamian scholars (*ummânū*)[17] claimed that they had inherited the secret knowledge of their profession from the ancient sages (*apkallū*), who had been in communication with the gods. This knowledge, according to myth, was passed on from generation to generation in a written form. The written corpora contained "the secrets of the gods" and it was accessible only to scholars.[18] Traditionally, scholars practiced one of five areas of expertise: astrology, extispicy,[19] magic, medicine and lamenta-

[15] Alan Lenzi, *Secrecy and the Gods: Secret Knowledge in Ancient Mesopotamia and Biblical Israel* (SAAS 19; Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 2008), 62–64.

[16] According to Martti Nissinen, prophets are portrayed in the divine council in Balaam inscription from Deir Alla, as well as in some Old-Babylonian and Neo-Assyrian texts; Martti Nissinen, "Prophets and the Divine Council," in *Kein Land für sich allein: Studien zum Kulturkontakt in Kanaan, Israel/Pälestina und Ebirnâri für Manfred Weippert zum 65. Geburtstag*, (ed. U. Hübner and E. A. Knauf; OBO 186; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2002), 6–17. Recently, Jonathan Stökl has partly challenged Nissinen's view concerning the Old-Babylonian and Neo-Assyrian sources. Stökl goes through four text examples. In two cases, according to Stökl, the divine council appears in a dream and not in a prophetic vision. In the third text, the prophet does not need to visit the council as the goddess mediates the message from the council to the prophet. As Stökl makes a distinction between professional prophets and those who prophesy only occasionally, he considers the fourth text to describe an ecstatic rather than a professional prophet, in the divine council; Jonathan Stökl, *Prophecy in the Ancient Near East: A Philological and Sociological Comparison* (Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 56; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 224–26.

[17] The notion of science was different in ancient Mesopotamian as opposed to modern societies. The word *ummânū* refers to an expert who mastered certain fields of what was considered to be science in ancient Mesopotamia. Scholars were able to study the extensive literature related to their profession. The basic meaning of the word *ummânū* is "master"; Simo Parpola, *Letters from Assyrian Scholars to the Kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal. Part IIA: Introduction and Appendixes* (Neukirchener/ Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker, 1971), 6–7.

[18] Lenzi, *Secrecy*, 120–22. See also Leo G. Perdue, "Mantic Sages in the Ancient Near East, Israel, Judaism, and the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Prophecy after Prophets: The Contribution of the Dead Sea Scrolls to the Understanding of Biblical and Extra-Biblical Prophecy* (ed. K. De Troyer and A. Lange; CBET 52; Leuven: Peeters, 2009), 141–44.

[19] Extispicy means finding out the divine will by studying entrails; Parpola, *Letters,* 13.

tion, although in the Neo-Assyrian period other areas of expertise were introduced, such as dream interpretation.[20] The two models, the direct consultation of the divine council and the textualization of the divine secrets, coexisted. Indeed, some of the ancient scholars were diviners themselves.[21] In ancient Mesopotamian society, the disclosure and transmission of divine knowledge was of fundamental importance as it was used to support the kingdom and the authority of the king.[22]

The Hebrew Bible records similar forms of communication between heavenly and earthly realms.[23] Especially one form of divination, prophecy, is depicted in several texts as the primary means of communication between YHWH and his people, although other forms of divination such as dream interpretation and the use of Urim and Thummim[24] are also mostly depicted in a positive light.[25] Like Mesopotamian diviners, the prophets in the Hebrew Bible play a similar role in delivering messages from the divinity.[26] The prophetic books contain both descriptions of prophets in the divine council (1 Kgs 22, Isa 6, Zech 3) and shorter references to the council as the source of true prophecies (Jer 23:18, 22; Amos 3:7). YHWH is usually depicted as the head of the council and lower divine beings are portrayed as members of the council. In Deuteronomy 32:8–9, exceptionally, the head of the divine

[20]Parpola, *Letters,* 9, 12–15.
[21] Lenzi, *Secrecy*, 121–22.
[22] Beate Pongratz-Leisten, *Herrschaftswissen in Mesopotamien: Formen der Kommunikation zwischen Gott und König im 2. und 1. Jahrtausend v.Chr.* (SAAS 10; Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 1999), 286–320.
[23] A general parallel to the *apkallû* tradition can be found in the presentation of Moses in the Pentateuch. The story of Mt. Sinai serves as a historical turning point like the flood in the *apkallû* tradition. With this story the scribes overcome the transition from direct divine revelation to textual corpora managed by the scribes. Moses serves in a unique mediatory role which authorizes an important text collection, the Torah; Lenzi, *Secrecy*, 362–75. Also, the traditions relating to the divine council have left their mark on Moses narratives, too. The Tent of Meeting functions as a "divine council on earth" where Moses meets YHWH and intermediates between YHWH and Israel; Kee, "Heavenly Council," 27–29.
[24] Urim and Thummim were probably stones used for inquiring the will of God; T. Dozeman, "Urim and Thummim," in *EDB* (ed. D. Noel Freedman et al.; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2000), 1349. For the use of *Urim* and *Thummin*, cf. Exod 28:15, 30; Num 27:12–23; Deut 33:8; and 1 Sam 14:36–46.
[25]For a positive image of dream interpretation, cf. Gen 40–41 and Dan 2.
[26] Stökl, *Prophecy*, 171–201.

council is Elyon and YHWH is one of its members.[27] Outside the prophetic visions, Job 1–2 and Psalm 82 are informative descriptions of the events and members of the divine council.[28]

Martti Nissinen has examined how the divine-human relationship is portrayed in the book of Ben Sira, namely in Sirach 24. Nissinen discovers that Sirach's characterization of acquiring and teaching wisdom in Sirach 24 recalls the ancient Near Eastern model of transmitting divine knowledge. Sirach begins chapter 24 by introducing personified female Wisdom who praises herself in 24:3–22. Sirach draws inspiration from Proverbs 8 but also develops this motif further. Especially in 24:13–22, Sirach utilizes the imagery from the Song of Songs and, occasionally, parallels can also be found to ancient Near Eastern love lyrics. The erotic and cultic imagery generally associated in the ancient Near East with goddesses is applied to Lady Wisdom in Sirach 24.[29] Due to other ancient Near Eastern parallels, it is likely that Sirach also makes use of another ancient Near Eastern concept, the divine council. According to him, Wisdom speaks "in the assembly of the Most High" and "in the presence of his host (Sir 24:2)." It is plausible that Sirach depicts Lady Wisdom as a member of the divine council, speaking there in the presence of (other) divine beings.[30] At the same time, she also

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[27]The Mesopotamian (polytheistic) divine assembly is also hierarchical and it is led by one of the gods; Kee, "Heavenly Council," 16, 34.

[28] Job 1–2 and Zech 3 introduce Satan as a member of the divine council who accuses people, in these cases Job and Joshua; Kee, "Heavenly Council," 178–208; 236–41.

[29] There are also allusions to the Song of Songs and Ancient Near Eastern love lyrics in Sir 14:20–15:10 and 51:13–22, where Sirach portrays the relationship between Wisdom and the wise; Martti Nissinen, "Wisdom as Mediatrix in Sirach 24: Ben Sira, Love Lyrics, and Prophecy," in *Of God(s), Trees, Kings, and Scholars: Neo-Assyrian and Related Studies in Honour of Simo Parpola* (ed. M. Luukko et al.; Helsinki: Finnish Oriental Society, 2009), 384.

[30] Several commentators have suggested that Lady Wisdom speaks in the divine council (in the assembly of the Most High, ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ὑψίστου), which is formed by the heavenly host (δύναμις); Patrick W. Skehan and Alexander Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira: A New Translation with Notes* (AB 9; New York: Doubleday, 1987), 331–32; Perdue, *Wisdom Literature*, 243; John J. Collins, *Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Age* (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox, 1997), 50. Recently, József Zsengellér has disputed this interpretation and argued that Sir 24:1–2 portray an ecclesial scene, i.e., Lady Wisdom is speaking in the midst of a Jerusalem congregation. According to Zsengellér, the word δύναμις should be understood as referring to God's power and not to his heavenly host. Zsengellér bases his claim on the notion that the word δύναμις cannot be a translation of the word צבאות; József Zsengellér, "Does

speaks in the midst of her people (Sir 24:1) and dwells among the Israelites (24:8, 10–12).[31] Thus, like goddesses in both ancient Near Eastern love lyrics and divinatory texts, Lady Wisdom is able to mediate between the divine and earthly spheres. Sirach, on the other hand, plays the role of a human mediator. The channel metaphor in Sirach 24:25–33 associates Sirach closely with Lady Wisdom and makes him a medium of Wisdom, who herself is "from the mouth of the Most High" (24:3). As Lady Wisdom's words can be found in the Torah (24:23), and as Sirach is able to teach the Torah/wisdom, he serves as the human medium of divine words. Notably, Sirach himself also likens his teaching to prophecy: "I will again pour out teaching like prophecy, and leave it to all future generations" (24:33).[32]

Wisdom Come from the Temple?" in *Studies in the Book of Ben Sira. Papers of the Third International Conference on the Deuterocanonical Books, Shime'on Centre, Pápa, Hungary, 18–20 May, 2006* (ed. G. Xeravits and J. Zsengellér; JSJSup 127; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 135–49, 138–39. Indeed, verse 1 implies that Wisdom also speaks among her people, the Israelites, but in verse 2, the focus may change to a heavenly scene; Collins, *Jewish Wisdom*, 50; Skehan and Di Lella, *Ben Sira*, 331. Sirach 24 is not preserved in Hebrew, but the word δύναμις could refer, for example, to the singular form צבא, as in 2 Chr 18:18. The singular form δύναμις could also mean "host" in Sir 17:32. The term ἐκκλησία ὑψίστου appears in Sirach only in 24:2. It is possible that the attribute ὑψίστου denotes the divine, heavenly character of the assembly (in a similar vein to עדת אל. e.g., in Ps 82:1 and 1QH^{a} 26:10), while the terms ἐκκλησία Ισραηλ (Sir 50:13) and ἐκκλησία υἱῶν Ισραηλ (Sir 50:20) refer explicitly to earthly congregations. The question, however, cannot be solved only on the bases of the vocabulary but the context should also be taken into account. E.g., in 1QS 11:7–8 גורל קדושים, and in 1QM 12:7 עדת קדושיכה clearly refer to heavenly beings but in 4Q381 II 11 (frg. 77) עד]ת קדוש קדושים and גורל מלך מלכים refer to human beings. Concerning 4Q381, see Mika S. Pajunen, *The Land to the Elect and Justice for All: Reading Psalms in the Dead Sea Scrolls in Light of 4Q381* (JAJSup 14; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013), 162–64.

[31] Marko Marttila and Mika S. Pajunen suggest that the author of Psalm 154 alludes to Sirach 24 several times. In regard to Wisdom and Israel, Psalm 154 (11QPs^{a} 18:10–12) elaborates on Sir 24:12, 20–23. According to both Psalm 154 and Sir 24, Wisdom lives among Israel and is equated with the Law; Marko Marttila and Mika S. Pajunen, "Wisdom, Israel and Other Nations: Perspectives from the Hebrew Bible, Deuterocanonical Literature, and the Dead Sea Scrolls," *JAJ* 4 (2013): 24. The author of Psalm 154 uses Sir 24 selectively as Psalm 154 shows no interest in Wisdom's self-praise, origin, or deeds before dwelling among the Israelites.

[32] Nissinen, "Wisdom," 379–88.

Ancient Near East		*Sirach 24*
Divine Council	Source	Assembly of the Most High
|		|
Goddess	Divine mediator	Lady Wisdom
|		|
Prophecy	Message	Torah
|		|
Prophet	Human medium	Sirach (teacher/prophet)
|		|
King/people	Recipient	People of Israel

TABLE 1. TRANSMITTING DIVINE KNOWLEDGE IN THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST AND IN SIRACH 24.[33]

A similar pattern in transmitting divine knowledge can be detected in *1 Enoch* 14–16 and Daniel 7. Both Enoch's and Daniel's dream visions contain a type-scene of the divine council where YHWH is surrounded by the divine beings (*1 En.* 14:18–23; Dan 7:9–10).[34] The way in which the divine council and the events taking place in it are portrayed bear similarities with both biblical and ancient Near Eastern accounts.[35]

The scribes who created texts related to both Enoch and Daniel were clearly familiar with Mesopotamian myths. In Genesis 5:18–24, Enoch shares many features with the portrayal of the seventh Mesopotamian king Enmeduranki, also a sage himself, and with the seven antediluvian *apkallī*. Like Enmeduranki and the seventh *apkallū*, Enoch was in God's favor, he is associated with the sun and the calendar,[36] and he

[33]After Nissinen, "Wisdom," 388.

[34] Concerning the type-scene, cf. Kee, "Heavenly Council," 20–24.

[35] A lot has been said about the rich imagery of the visions, as well as the sources of inspiration, but I restrict my analysis to the transmission of divine knowledge. For a more detailed analysis, cf. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 251–75; Collins, *Daniel*, 274–324; Helge S. Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic: The Mesopotamian Background of the Enoch Figure and the Son of Man* (WMANT 61; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1988), 242–54, 443–555. Similarities in Enoch's and Daniel's throne visions are notable. Whether the similarities are due to a direct literary dependence or another type of relationship is debatable; Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic*, 558–71; Collins, *Daniel*, 300.

[36] According to Helge Kvanvig, Enoch's age, 365 years, is a subtle reference to the solar year and to astronomical speculations. In Mesopotamian mythology the seventh king and the seventh sage were also associated with the sun and with astronomy; Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic*, 230–31.

is raised up to heaven. The utilization of Mesopotamian myths continues in *1 Enoch* and in the book of *Jubilees.* Enoch is portrayed as an antediluvian sage and scribe who passes on the heavenly wisdom he has received (cf., e.g., *1 En.* 6–16, 80–82; *Jub.* 4).[37] Knowledge of Mesopotamian traditions is also apparent in the book of Daniel. In Daniel 1–6, the court scholars come surprisingly close to actual Assyrian and Babylonian court scholars both on the level of terminology[38] as well as in their portrayal.[39] In Daniel 7, the events taking place in the divine council, judgment and the granting of a kingship, are typical motifs related to the divine council.[40] In both *1 Enoch* and Daniel, elements from the *apkallū*/*ummânū* tradition are mixed together with elements from prophetic oracles and narratives. Enoch's speech in *1 Enoch* 1–5, for example, alludes to several prophetic oracles (e.g., Balaam's and Micah's),[41] and Daniel's dream vision in Daniel 7 draws from such sources as Isaiah's and Hosea's oracles.[42]

In both *1 Enoch* 14–16 and Dan 7, the divine council serves as a source of secret knowledge, albeit in a different way. In Enoch's vision, Enoch journeys to God's throne room where God calls for Enoch and gives him a message, i.e., words of judgment to the Watchers (*1 En.* 14:24–16:4). Enoch's vision recalls prophetic call narratives, especially Ezekiel 1–2 and Isaiah 6.[43] Daniel, instead, is not addressed by God in his vision. Daniel sees symbolic events taking place in the divine council and talks to one of its members, presumably an angel,[44] who gives the interpretation of the events to Daniel that the evil rule will end.

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[37] Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic,* 224–67.
[38] Parpola, *Letters*, 9.
[39] Karel van der Toorn, "Scholars at the Oriental Court: The Figure of Daniel against Its Mesopotamian Background," in *The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception* (ed. J. J. Collins and P. Flint; Leiden: Brill, 2001) 1:38–42.
[40] Kee, "Heavenly Council," 245–49.
[41] Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 137–64. Concerning *1 En* 14–16, see below.
[42] Collins, *Daniel*, 294–95. Concerning Dan 7, see also below.
[43] Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 30.
[44] For a similar task for an angel, cf. Zech 1–6; Collins, *Daniel*, 277, 323.

Enoch and Daniel mediate the divine messages by writing down their visions.[45] Enoch's vision is called *"The Book of the Words of Truth, and of the Reprimand of the Watchers Who Were from Eternity"* (*1 En.* 14:1–2). There are two audiences for Enoch's book: at the narrative level the recipients are the Watchers to whom Enoch reads the verdict (*1 En.* 14:2–3; 15:1–2).[46] The implied audience, however, is the story's readers and listeners. As there is no audience depicted for Daniel's vision report in Daniel 7:1, the readers and listeners of the written account are the implicit recipients.[47]

1 Enoch 14–16		*Daniel 7*
Heavenly throne room	Source	Thrones
|		|
–	Divine mediator	Angel
|		|
Words of wisdom & reprimand	Message	Judgment
|		|
Enoch (seer & scribe)	Human medium	Daniel (seer)
|		|
Watchers/Readers	Recipient	Readers

TABLE 2. TRANSMITTING DIVINE KNOWLEDGE IN *1 ENOCH* 14–16 AND DANIEL 7.

It will be next discussed how the author(s) of the *Hodayot* psalms applied the traditions related to the divine council as a source of divine knowledge and adopted the ancient Near Eastern pattern in transmitting divine knowledge. Comparisons between the two *Hodayot* psalms and Sirach 24, *1 Enoch* 14–16, and Daniel 7 reveal that the *Hodayot* psalms share affinities with all three passages. As in Sirach 24, a contemporary teacher is depicted as a mediator of divine knowledge in both *Hodayot* psalms.

[45] Although not a typical element in prophetic narratives, writing down one's vision is also attested in Isa 30:8, Jer 36:2, and Hab 2:2; Collins, *Daniel*, 294.
[46] Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 252.
[47] In Dan 12, the wise (*maśkilîm*) are identified as the recipients; Jassen, *Mediating*, 274.

The Divine Council and Revelation in the *Hodayot*

Overall, there is a strong interest in the heavenly beings in the *Hodayot*. The creation of the heavenly beings is recounted in two psalms.[48] Both good and evil heavenly beings are mentioned: the good ones serve God and act as heavenly warriors,[49] while the evil ones include Belial, evil spirits and those angels who have fallen.[50] At the end of the days, God will judge the heavenly beings, and the evil ones will be destroyed.[51] In some psalms, the adversaries of the speaker are associated with Belial.[52] Other psalms portray a close relationship between the speaker's community and the heavenly congregation because the two communities are believed to praise God together.[53] The most striking depiction is in the fourth *lĕmaśkîl* psalm (1QH[a] 25:34–27:3[54]),[55] which contains the so-called *Self-Glorification Hymn* (25:34–26:9a)[56] and exhortations to praise (26:9b–27:3). In the *Self-Glorification Hymn*, the speaker claims

[48] 1QH[a] 5:24–26 and 9:12–13.
[49] E.g., 1QH[a] 11:35–37 and 7:36–37.
[50] Columns 24 and 25 are fragmentary but the vocabulary indicates that the psalm is based on the story of the fallen angels. The story appears in 1 *En.* 6–16 but also in other texts found in the Qumran caves, such as the *Book of the Giants*; Stegemann and Schuller, *1QHodayot[a]*, 284. The fragmentary column 4 probably portrays afflictions caused by evil spirits; Stegemann and Schuller, *1QHodayot[a]*, 74.
[51] 1QH[a] 18:36–38; 25:6–7, 13–15.
[52] 1QH[a] 10:24; 14:24–25; 15:6.
[53] A similar idea can be found, e.g., in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*; Carol Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice: A Critical Edition* (HSS 27; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985), 17–18.
[54] Due to the fragmentary state of columns 26 and 27, it is not clear where the psalm ends; Stegemann and Schuller, *1QHodayot[a]*, 300.
[55] Although fragmentary, it is likely that four *Hodayot* psalms start with a heading *lĕmaśkîl,* "for the wisdom teacher": 1QH[a] 5:12–6:33; 7:21–8:41; 20:7–22:42; and 25:34–27:3. These psalms share certain terminology and themes with the parts of the *Community Rule* attributed to the wisdom teacher; Carol A. Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran* (STDJ 52; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2004), 198, 299.
[56] In addition to 1QH[a], the *Self-Glorification Hymn* can be found in two other *Hodayot* manuscripts, 4Q427 and 4Q431. A similar hymn appears in manuscript 4Q491, but whether this hymn is another copy of the *Self-Glorification Hymn*, another recension of the *Hymn* or only loosely related to it, is a matter of debate; Florentino García Martínez, "Old Texts and Modern Mirages: The "I" of the Two Qumran Hymns," in *Qumranica Minora 1: Qumran Origins and Apocalypticism* (ed. E. J. C. Tigchelaar; STDJ 63; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 329–32.

to be "with the divine beings" (26:4–5).[57] Many suggestions have been made concerning the speaker's identity.[58] In the context of the *hodayah* 25:34–27:3, a natural choice for the speaker would be the *maśkîl* to whom the *hodayah* is attributed. Furthermore, the whole community seems to have the privilege of being with the divine beings in a liturgical setting: the congregation is exhorted to "rejoice in the congregation of God, cry gladly in the tents of salvation, give praise in the holy dwelling, exult together with the eternal host" (26:10–11).[59]

The *Hodayot* psalms also refer to the heavenly assembly in relation to the revealed, heavenly knowledge.[60] Often the connection is made by using the word סוד. The word *sôd* has two meanings related to the divine council. First, it is used of the divine council itself (as in Jer 23:18). Second, *sôd* also refers to the divine counsel or plan revealed in the council (as in Amos 3:7). Both meanings are made use of in the *Hodayot* psalms so that the contemporary revelation is linked with earlier prophetic revelation, like those of Jeremiah and Amos.

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[57] For the possible oracular background of the *Self-Glorification Hymn*, see Martti Nissinen's article in this volume.

[58] For a short review, see Nissinen's article in this volume and Joseph Angel, "The Liturgical-Eschatological Priest of the Self-Glorification Hymn," *RevQ 96* (2010): 588–99.

[59] Joseph Angel argues that the speaker is a priestly figure who leads the community to the heavenly temple to glorify God; Angel, "The Liturgical-Eschatological Priest," 597–99. Angel develops further Michael Wise's argument, according to which the community chants the *Self-Glorification Hymn* together with a worship leader, the *maśkîl*; Michael O. Wise, "מי כמוני באלים: A Study of 4Q491c, 4Q417b, 4Q427 7 and 1QH[a] 25:35–26:10," *DSD 7* (2000): 216–18.

[60] References to divine revelation in the *Hodayot* have not gone unnoticed in recent scholarship. Concerning psalm 12:6–13:6, cf. Jassen, *Mediating*, 366–71; Thomas, *The* "*Mysteries*," 207–10; Martti Nissinen, "Transmitting Divine Mysteries: The Prophetic Role of Wisdom Teachers in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Scripture in Transition: Essays on Septuagint, Hebrew Bible, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of Raija Sollamo* (ed. A. Voitila and J. Jokiranta; JSJSup 126; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 531; and Brooke, "Prophecy and Prophets," 163. Concerning psalm 20:7–22:42, cf. Perdue, "Mantic Sages," 168–71; Armin Lange, "Sages and Scribes in the Qumran Literature," in *Scribes, Sages, and Seers: The Sage in the Eastern Mediterranean World* (ed. L. G. Perdue; FRLANT 219; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008), 287. A comparison between these two psalms has not been done so far, probably due to the fact that psalms 12:6–13:6 and 20:7–22:42 are usually situated in different subgroups within the *Hodayot*. Psalm 20:7–22:42 is one of the four *lĕmaśkîl* psalms, while psalm 12:6–13:6 is one of the so-called Teacher Psalms. Therefore, it has gone unnoticed that the two psalms contain a similar pattern in transmitting divine knowledge.

The two *Hodayot* psalms analyzed here, 1QH[a] 12:6–13:6 and 20:7–22:42, use the same expression, סוד פלאכה, "your wondrous council/counsel." Despite the shared expression, there are several differences in the way the psalms depict the transmission of divine knowledge.[61]

In 1QH[a] 20:7–22:42, the speaker is a wisdom teacher, *maśkîl*. At the beginning of the psalm, he recounts how he has received divine knowledge and learned to know God because God has given to him the divine spirit. He is also able to listen to God's *sôd*. In this passage, the word *sôd* can be translated by either the word council or counsel. As in some other *Hodayot* psalms, the revelation of *sôd* is interrelated with the revelation of *rāz*.[62]

1QH[a] 20:14b–27a	
ואני משכיל ידעתיכה אלי ברוח	And I, the Instructor, I know you, my God,by the spirit
15 אשר נתתה בי ונאמנה שמעתי לסוד פלאכה ברוח ק֯דשכה	15 that you have placed in me. Faithfully have I heeded your wondrous secret counsel. By your holy spirit
16 [פ]תחתה לתוכי דעת ברז שכלכה ומעין גבורת[כה]ה בתוך	16 you have [o]pened up knowledge within me through the mystery of your wisdom and the fountainhead of [your] pow[er …]*h* in the midst
17 [יראיכ]ה לרוב חסד וקנאת כלה והשבת[ ]	17 [of those who fear yo]u, for abundant kindness, but also a zeal for destruction, and you have made an end[…]
18 [ ]ל[ ]בהדר כבודכה לאור עול[ם]	18 […]*l*[…] with the splendor of your glory for and etern[al] light […]
19 [ ]מ[פ]חד רשעה ואין רמיה [ ]ו[ול]	19 [… from] dread of wickedness, and there is no deception and [… *wl*]
20 [ ] מועדי שממה כיא אין ע[וד]	20 […] appointed times of destruction, for there is no mo[re ..]
21 [ו]אין עוד מדהבה כיא לפני	21 [… and] there is no more oppression,

[61] The differences in the way revelation is depicted in the two *Hodayot* psalms might indicate that they were originally composed in different circles or periods of time. In order to develop this hypothesis further, one needs to analyze other similar *Hodayot* psalms, namely, the *lĕmaśkîl* psalms and the so-called Teacher Psalms.

[62] Cf. 1QH[a] 12:28–29; 13:27–28; 18:5–6; and 19:12–13, 18–19.

אפּ[ה]	for before yo[ur] anger […]
22 [ ]בֿ ○ יחפזו ואין צדיק	22 […]*b*○ they make haste. No one is
עמכה[ ]כה	righteous beside you […]*kh*
23 וֿ[ל]השכיל בכול רזיכה ולשיב דברֿ	23 and [to] have insight into all your
[על משפטיכה]	mysteries, and to answer [concerning
	your judgments…]
24 בתוכחתכה ולטובכה יצפו כיא	24 with your reproach, and they will
בחסדֿ[כה כו]לֿ	watch for your goodness, for in [your]
	kindness […al]l
25 יודעיכה ובקצ כבודכה יגילו ולפי	25 who know you. In the time of your
○[כי]א כשכלם	glory they will rejoice, and according to
	[…ˇ fo]r according to their insight
26 הגשתם ולפי ממשלתם ישרתוכה	26 you bring them near, and according
למפלג[יהם לא ל]שוֿב ממכה	to their dominion they serve you in
	[their] division[s, neither] turning from
	you
27 וֿלוא לעבור על דברכה	27 nor transgressing your word.

In lines 16–17, both Hartmut Stegemann and Elisha Qimron reconstruct ה[יראיכ] בתוך, "in the midst of [those who fear yo]u."[63] The same phrase appears at the end of the previous psalm (1QH[a] 20:6). If the reconstruction is correct, the designation "those who fear you" probably refers to the members of the *maśkîl*'s community who would be the recipients of the revelation.[64]

It is not easy to conclude what the content of the *maśkîl*'s revelation is. In line 17, the speaker claims that revelation takes place because of God's kindness as well as his zeal for destruction. Although fragmentary, the following lines (18–27) continue the theme of judgment, "appointed times of destruction" and "the time of your glory." God will destroy wickedness and deception, but the righteous will rejoice. Judgment seems to be a continuing topic throughout the long psalm. Line 21:34 preserves a phrase: "I know by the spirit that you have placed in me that …" The following fragmentary lines seem to deal again with

[63] Cf. Elisha Qimron, *Megilot Midbar Yehudah: ha-hiburim ha-Ivriyim* (Yerushalayim: Yad Yitsḥaḳ Ben-Tsevi, 2010), 90.
[64] "Those who fear you/God" appears as a positive group designation in several texts; Pajunen, *The Land*, 360–61.

judgment and destruction. Whether the revelation truly concerns the judgment remains unclear, as the text breaks whenever the speaker refers to his revelation.[65]

At the beginning of the second *Hodayot* psalm (1QH[a] 12:6–30a), the speaker portrays himself as a mediator between God and the many, his own community, because he is able to be in the divine council and understand God's mysteries.[66]

1QH[a] 12:6–30a	
6 *vacat* [ ] אודכה אדוני כי[א] האירותה פני לבריתכה ומ[ ]	6 […] *vacat* I thank you, Lord, that you have illuminated my face for your covenant and *m*[…]
7 [ ] ○ אדורשכה וכשחר נכון לאור[תי]ם הופעתה לי ותמה עמכה [ ]	7 […]○ I seek you, and as sure as dawn, you appear to me as early [li]ght. But they, your people, […]
8 בתתע[ותם ו]בדברים החליקו למו ומליצי רמיה התעום וילבטו בלא בינה כיא [ ]	8 in [their] stra[ying, and] they used slippery words on them. Deceitful interpreters led them astray, and they came to ruin without understanding, for […]
9 בהולל מעשיהם כי נמאסי למו ולא יחשבוני בהגבירכה בי כי[א] ידיחני מארצי	9 with delusion their deeds, for I have been rejected by them. They have no regard for me when you show your strength through me, for they drive me away from my land
10 כצפור מקנה וכול רעי ומודעי נדחו ממני ויחשבוני לכלי אובד והמה מליצי	10 like a bird from its nest. All my friends and my relatives are driven away from me, and they regard me as a broken pot. But they are lying interpreters
11 כזב וחוזי רמיה זממו עלי {כז}בליעל להמיר תורתכה אשר שננתה בלבבי בחלקות	11 and deceitful seers. They have planned devilry against me to exchange your law, which you spoke repeatedly in my heart, for slippery words
12 לעמכה ויעצורו משקה דעת מצמאים ולצמאם ישקום חומץ למע הבט אל	12 for your people. They withhold the drink of knowledge from the thirsty,

[65] Cf. also 1QH[a] 22:26, 31.
[66] Thomas, *The "Mysteries,"* 208–9.

	and for their thirst they give them sour wine to drink so that they may gaze on
13 תעותם להתהולל במועדיה[ם] להתפש במצודותם כי אתה אל תנאץ כל מחשבת	13 their error, acting like madmen on their feast days, snaring themselves in their nets. But you, O God, despise every devilish plan,
14 בליעל ועצתכה היא תקום ומחשבת לבכה תכון לנצח והמה נעלמים זמות בליעל	14 and it is your counsel that will stand and the plan of your mind that will be established forever. But they,
15 יחשובו וידרשוכה בלב ולב ולא נכונו באמתכה שורש פורה רוש ולענה במחשבותם	the hypocrites, concoct devilish plans 15 and seek you with a divided heart. And so they are not steadfast in your truth. A root that grows poison and wormwood is in their thoughts,
16 ועם שרירות לבם יתורו וידרשוכה בגלולים ומכשול עוונם שמו לנגד פניהם ויבאו	16 and in the stubbornness of their heart they explore, and they seek you among idols. The stumbling block of their iniquity they have placed before themselves, and they come
17 לדורשכה מפי נביאי כזב מפותי תעות והם [ב]לָ[ו]עֹג שפה ולשון אחרת ידברו לעמך	17 to inquire of you by means of the mouth of lying prophets who are themselves seduced by error. And they, [with] m[o]cking lips and an alien tongue speak to your people,
18 להולל ברמיה כול מעשיהם כי לא בָחרו בדר[ך לב]כָּה ולא האזינו לדברכה כי אמרו	18 deceitfully ridiculing all their deeds. For they have not chosen the wa[y of] your [heart], and they have not listened to your word, for they say
19 לחזון דעת לא נכון ולדרך לבכה לא היאה כי אתה אל תענה להם לשופטם	19 of the vision of knowledge, “It is not certain,” and of the way of your heart, “It is not that.” But you, O God, will answer them, judging them
20 בגבורתכה[כ]גלוליהם וכרוב פשעיהם למען יתפשו במחשבותם אשר נזורו מבריתכה	20 in your strength [according to] their idols and the magnitude of their transgressions, so that those who have deserted your covenant will be caught in their own machinations.
21 ותכרת במָ[שפ]ט כול אנשי מרמה וחוזי תעות לא ימצאו עוד כי אין הולל בכול מעשיך	21 You will cut off in ju[dgm]ent all deceitful people, and erring seers will be found no longer. For there is no delusion in all your works,
22 ולא רמיה בָמזמת לבכה ואשר כנפשכה יעמודו לפניכה לעד והולכי	22 and there is no deceit in the plan of your mind. Those who are in harmony

בדרך לבבה	with you will stand before you forever, and those who walk in the way of your heart
23 יכונו לנצחֹ[ו]אֲני בתומכי בכה אתעודדה ואקומה על מנאצי וידי על כול בוזי כיא	23 will be established everlastingly. [And] as for me, when I hold fast to you, I stand strong and rise up against those who despise me. My hand is against all who have contempt for me, for
24 לא יחשבונֻ[י]עֹד הגבירכה בי ותופע לי בכוחכה לאורתים ולא טחתה בבושת פני	24 they have no regard for [me], as long as you show your strength through me and appear to me in your strength as early light. You have not covered in shame the faces of
25 כול הנדרשֹ[י]ם לי הנועדים יחד לבריתכה וישומעוני ההולכים בדרך לבבה ויערוכו לכה	25 all who have been examined by me, who have gathered together for your covenant. Those who walk in the way of your heart listen to me, and they marshal themselves before you
26 בסוד קדושים ותוצא לנצח משפטם ולמישרים אמת ולא תתעם ביד חלכאים	26 in the council of the holy ones. You bring forth their justice successfully and truth with ease. You do not let them be led astray by the hand of the vile
27 כזומם למו ותתן מוראם על עמכה ומפץ לכול עמי הארצות להכרית במשפט כול	27 when they scheme against them. But you put a dread of them upon your people, and (bring) destruction to all the peoples of the lands, in order to cut off in judgment all
28 עוברי פיכה ובי האירותה פני רבים ותגבר עד לאין מספר כי הודעתני ברזי	28 who transgress your command. Through me you have illuminated the faces of many, and you have increased them beyond number. For you have made me understand your wonderful
29 פלאכה ובסֹוד פלאכה הגברתה עמדי והפלא לנגד רבים בעבור כבודכה ולהודיע	29 mysteries, and in your wonderful council you have shown yourself strong to me, doing wondrously before many for the sake of your glory and in order to make known
30 לכול החייֹם גבורותיכה	30 to all the living your mighty deeds.

The most obvious difference between *Hodayot* psalms 20:7–22:42 and 12:6–13:6 is that in the latter, no divine mediator is depicted between God and the speaker.[67] Interestingly, the spirit is portrayed as a mediator only in the *lĕ-maśkîl* psalms.[68] A similar emphasis can be found in the *Community Rule*, which portrays the divine spirit as a mediator between the prophets and God, as well as the present community and God (1QS 3:7; 8:16; 9:3).

Also, psalm 12:6–13:6 differs from psalm 20:7–22:42 in respect to its use of allusions, as well as its polemical language. Unlike in psalm 20:7–22:42, the author of psalm 12:6–13:6 depicts a bitter disagreement between the speaker and his adversaries. Both sides deny the validity of each other's revelations (12:10–11, 18–19, 21). Through several allusions to older texts,[69] the speaker places himself among a long line of righteous teachers and prophets, starting from Moses. The speaker and his community are able to keep the covenant because the speaker has access to true knowledge. The adversaries, on the other hand, are portrayed as devilish priests and prophets who lead the people astray.[70] They plot to "exchange your law" and "act like madmen on their feast days" (12:11, 13). Because the psalm has several allusions to Jeremiah 23, the teacher's revelation depicted in 1QH^a 12:28–29 was probably interpreted in terms of Jer 23:16–18. The *Hodayot* psalm indirectly responds to God's question posed in Jer 23:18: "For who has stood in the council of the LORD so as to see and hear his word?" In both Jer 23 and 1QH^a 12:6–13:6, the ability to stand in God's council marks true knowledge and those who have access to it. Others prophesy their own delusions but the true prophets know God's mysteries because they have stood in God's council. Psalm 20:7–22:42 reflects a different kind

[67] This variation can also be seen in biblical prophetic narratives. Only some texts emphasize the mediatory role of the spirit of God; W. Hildebrandt, "Spirit of Yahweh," in *DOTP* (ed. M. J. Boda and J. G. McConville; Nottingham: InterVarsity, 2012), 750, 756.
[68] Cf. 1QH^a 5:36 (in psalm 5:12–6:33); 8:29 (in psalm 7:21–8:41); and 20:14–16 and 21:34 (in psalm 20:7–22:42).
[69] Especially significant are Exod 34; Deut 29:1–30:20; Hos 4:1–6:3; Jer 23:9–40; Ezek 3:1–14:11; and several passages from Isaiah.
[70] Julie A. Hughes, *Scriptural Allusion and Exegesis in the Hodayot* (STDJ 59; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 118–34.

of situation where no other group poses a threat that requires fierce defense.

Hodayot psalm 12:6–13:6 poses intriguing questions concerning the content of the revelation. According to 12:28–29, God has made the speaker understand רז פלאכה, "your wonderful mysteries," but the exact content of the mysteries and its relation to the Law and feast days (12:11, 13) remains vague. *Community Rule* and *Damascus Document* might provide relevant points of view. According to both texts, the revelation of the law is gradual. After Moses's initial revelation other revelations follow that supplement the law. Both classical prophets as well as righteous community members are recipients of these complementary revelations (1QS 8:15–16; 5:8–9; 9:13–14; CD 7:14–21).[71] In these texts, as Carol Newsom puts it, "knowledge of torah requires knowing other things," meaning, the Torah cannot be correctly understood without hidden things and mysteries being revealed. In the *Damascus Document*, the hidden things that are revealed concern Sabbaths, feasts, testimonies, and God's ways and desires (CD 3:12–16). In the *Community Rule* the community members receive information concerning the two ways, both its implications for the lives of individuals and for the course of history.[72] Therefore, it is not surprising that in *Hodayot* psalm 12:6–13:6, prophetic activity is related to the Law. The mystery in psalm 12:6–13:6, then, could denote similar additional knowledge that ensures the correct understanding of the Torah. The polemics point in the same direction: God has spoken the Law repeatedly to the heart of the speaker but adversaries plot to change the Law (12:11).

[71] Alex P. Jassen, "The Presentation of Ancient Prophets as Lawgivers at Qumran," *JBL 127* (2008): 328–35.

[72] Newsom, *The Self*, 68–73. A similar pattern might be found in the *lĕmaśkîl* psalm 1QH[a] 5:12–6:33, where the term *rāzê pil'ākâ* also occurs. In this context, the revealed mysteries seem to refer to the teaching of the two ways (1QH[a] 5:19–30). Those who have understanding do not rebel against God's command or pervert his words.

1QH^a 20		*1QH^a 12*
God's council	Source	God's council
|		|
Holy spirit	Divine mediator	–
|		|
Knowledge	Message	Wonderful mysteries
|		|
Wisdom teacher	Human medium	Teacher
|		|
Those who fear God?	Recipient	Many

TABLE 3. TRANSMITTING DIVINE KNOWLEDGE IN THE TWO *HODAYOT* PSALMS.

According to Martti Nissinen and Alex P. Jassen, the *Hodayot* psalms testify to a wider phenomenon of the (late) Second Temple period, namely, that transmitting divine knowledge is a task of scribes, teachers and sages.[73] In addition to the teachers of the *Hodayot,* contemporary figures such as Sirach,[74] Teacher of Righteousness,[75] and the sages of the *Mysteries* and *Instruction*[76] have been examined from this perspective. Nissinen writes:

> In conclusion, it may be recognized that the divinatory function of prophecy was well taken care of in communities that produced the Dead Sea Scrolls. The ancient prophetic figures, to whom the title נביא was reserved, had an authoritative status as followers of Moses, the first prophet. But the revelation, based in part in their writings, was now received by privileged teachers—such as the Teacher of Righteousness—who like the prophets were inspired by the divine spirit and were, therefore, capable of knowing and transmitting the divine mysteries to the community. These teachers were not called prophets, but they certainly had a similar status and function, even though fused into

[73] Nissinen, "Transmitting," 531; Jassen, *Mediating*, 366–71.
[74] Benjamin G. Wright III, "Conflicted Boundaries: Ben Sira, Sage and Seer," in *Congress Volume Helsinki 2010* (ed. M. Nissinen; VTSup 148; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 229–53; Pancratius C. Beentjes, "What about Apocalypticism in the Book of Ben Sira?" in *Congress Volume Helsinki 2010* (ed. M. Nissinen; VTSup 148; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 207–27.
[75] George J. Brooke, "Was the Teacher of Righteousness Considered to Be a Prophet?" in *Prophecy after the Prophets? The Contribution of the Dead Sea Scrolls to the Understanding Biblical and Extra-Biblical Prophecy* (ed. A. Lange and K. De Troyer; CBET 52; Leuven: Peeters, 2003), 77–97.
[76] Nissinen, "Transmitting," 527–33.

> the scholarly and scribal role that was not necessarily part of traditional prophecy but rather belonged to scholarly divination.[77]

Nissinen identifies four elements: 1) teachers as mediators, 2) inspiration by means of the divine spirit, 3) centricity of the mysteries, and 4) fusion of prophetic and scholarly/scribal functions. The *Hodayot* psalms bear witness to Nissinen's analysis although the divine spirit is only mentioned in the *lĕ-maśkîl* psalms. What combines both psalms is the revelation of *rāz* (1QH[a] 12:28–29; 20:15–16). The teachers of the *Hodayot* stand in a continuum with Enoch and Daniel to whom God reveals his mystery (4Q204 5ii 26–27; Dan 2:19, 27–29, 47; 4:6). But unlike *1 Enoch* 14–16 and Daniel 7, which rely on pseudonymity and the authority of an ancient sage, a contemporary teacher is depicted as the mediator of divine knowledge as in Sirach 24. They portray themselves receiving knowledge from the divine council like diviners in the ancient Near East were believed to do.

Both the *Hodayot* and the book of Ben Sira have raised questions concerning the nature of the revelation they refer to. Both texts use revelatory language,[78] yet they are not vision reports but poetical accounts or instructions on divine knowledge and on the speaker's own role in its mediation. It has been proposed that in Sirach's thinking, inspiration and revelation play an important role and that they are "achieved through study—of texts, nature, history, the wisdom tradition."[79] The *Hodayot* might turn out to be a similar case. In addition to the divine council/counsel, other traditional revelatory language like "opening an ear" (1QH[a] 22:32) and "vision" (1QH[a] 12:19) is also used in the *Hodayot* psalms. Nevertheless, revelation is not likely to be conceived either as a visual or an auditory experience during which the speaker visits the divine council. Instead of an ecstatic experience, reve-

[77] Nissinen, "Transmitting," 532.
[78] Cf., e.g., Sir 39:1–11 and 4:18.
[79] Wright, "Conflicted," 238–39. Anssi Voitila is more cautious than Wright and argues that there is no definitive evidence that Ben Sira opposes certain kinds of (apocalyptic) revelatory practices; Anssi Voitila, "Is Ben Sira Opposing Apocalyptic Teaching in Sir 3,21–24?" *ZAW 122* (2010): 247.

lation could refer to an intellectual process that is seen as divinely inspired.[80] In 1QH[a] 20:35–37, the *maśkîl* contemplates: "What can I say unless you open my mouth? How can I understand unless you give me insight? What can I s[peak] unless you reveal it to my mind?" Educated scribes and Torah and wisdom teachers needed to be divinely inspired in order to truly grasp this knowledge.

Despite similar claims to divine inspiration, there are several differences in Sirach's teachings compared to those of the two *Hodayot* teachers. Although both Ben Sira and the teacher in *hodayah* 12:6–13:6 relate their revelations to the Torah, their interpretation of the Torah might vary significantly. The interest in dualism, judgment, and the angelic world in the *Hodayot* psalms recalls more *1 Enoch* 14–16 and Daniel 7 than the book of Ben Sira. If the divine message concerns judgment in 1QH[a] 20:7–22:42, it relates closely to Enoch's and Daniel's messages in which the revelation also reinforces the division between the righteous and the wicked and the final division at the time of judgment. Although psalm 20:7–22:42 is fragmentary, nothing indicates that these views are contested, instead they are intended to console the audience that is already on the right path. In *hodayah* 12:6–13:6, on the other hand, there is an ongoing power struggle as the speaker challenges those who have rejected him (12:9). The strategy of the teacher is much like that in *1 Enoch* 14–16. True revelation becomes a marker to distinguish between the righteous and the wicked. The righteous ones (Enoch and the teacher) have access to divine mysteries and what is left for the wicked (Watchers and the adversaries) are delusions. The speaker assures that those who follow the adversaries will be destroyed, but those who follow him will stand before God. True knowledge enables the righteous to escape God's vengeance (12:21–28). In *Hodayot* psalm 12:6–13:6, the predetermination of the two ways is not mentioned[81] but the emphasis is on free choice, perhaps in order to emphasize the transgression of the

[80] Nissinen, "Transmitting," 531–32. Similarly, Thomas, *The "Mysteries,"* 232.

[81] In 1QH[a] 7:21–8:41, for example, the language of free will and predetermination occur side by side. 1QH[a] 7:21–25a emphasizes the choice of the speaker while the subsequent 1QH[a] 7:25b–34 states that the inclination of every spirit is determined even before God created it.

adversaries, on the one hand, and the righteousness of the speaker, on the other.

Conclusions

The way in which five passages written in the Hellenistic period, namely Sirach 24, *1 Enoch* 14–16, Daniel 7, and the *Hodayot* psalms (1QH[a] 12:6–13:6 and 20:7–22:42) depict acquiring and transmitting divine knowledge recalls the ancient Near Eastern model of transmitting divine knowledge. The divine council serves a source of knowledge and the human mediator is able to bring the divine message from the council to other human beings. Different third- and second-century B.C.E. authors shared a belief in an ongoing divine-human communication and they clearly drew from similar traditions concerning divination and mantic wisdom, whether "biblical" or from elsewhere in the ancient Near East. As a result, new ideas regarding the role of a sage emerge. When discussing the divinatory practices of the late Second Temple period, attention should be given to the roles and tasks of scribes, sages and teachers who are depicted performing a task often attributed to diviners.

More research should be done on how revelation itself was understood in the late Second Temple period. Despite the references to revelation in all five passages, revelation might be understood differently in Sirach 24 and the *Hodayot* psalms than in *1 Enoch* 14–16 and Daniel 7. Neither Sirach 24 nor the *Hodayot* psalms are vision reports. The way revelation and divine knowledge are depicted in the book of Ben Sira and in the *Hodayot* might indicate that the authors perceived revelation to be an intellectual process that was inspired by God. The more intellectual understanding of revelation might correspond with the tasks of sages who saw a divine component in their intellectual efforts.

What are, then, the divine messages that needed to be transmitted? In *1 Enoch* 14–16, Daniel 7, and perhaps in 1QH[a] 20:7–22:42, the divine message concerns the upcoming judgment. In *1 Enoch* 14–16 and *hodayah* 12:6–13:6, divine knowledge bears the utmost significance as it is depicted as a marker between the righteous and the wicked. The

righteous ones know God's mysteries and are able to escape divine judgment. In Sirach 24, wisdom is famously equated with the Torah. Similarly, in *hodayah* 12:6–13:6, the revealed knowledge is associated with the Torah: the revelation of mysteries is significant as it ensures the correct understanding of the Torah.

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HANNA TERVANOTKO

Visions, Otherworldly Journeys and Divine Beings

The Figures of Levi and Amram as Communicators of Godly Will in the Dead Sea Scrolls*

Introduction

Multiple studies have focused on the members of the family of Levi as priests in the texts of the Second Temple era. These studies have emphasized the so-called "magnetic quality" of the Levi's priesthood, which means that apart from his priestly cultic functions, Levi also features prominently in other roles, such as king, sage, and judge.[1] However, less attention has been dedicated to Levi's connections with prophe-

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[1] Michael E. Stone, "Ideal Figures and Social Context: Priest and Sage in the Early Second Temple Age," in *Ancient Israelite Religion: Essays in Honor of Frank Moore Cross* (ed. P. D. Miller, P. D. Hanson, and S. D. McBride; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987), 575–86; Joseph L. Angel, "The Traditional Roots of Priestly Messianism at Qumran," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls at 60: Scholarly Contributions of New York University Faculty and Alumni* (ed. L. H. Schiffman and S. Tzoref; STDJ 89; Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2010), 27–54; Harald Samuel, "Levi, the Levites, and the Law," in *Rewriting and Interpreting the Hebrew Bible: The Biblical Patriarchs in the Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. D. Dimant and R. G. Kratz; BZAW 439; Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013), 215–30. Note that this may not have been entirely a late Second Temple era phenomenon, but already some earlier texts feature prominent characters in "amalgam of roles," e.g., Samuel.

cy, i.e., the human transmission of messages that allegedly have a divine origin, present in various literary traditions. This feature, i.e., how Levi and members of his family access divine knowledge, requires clarification.[2]

In this article I will focus on the attribution of prophetic abilities to Levi and his offspring. First, I will consider the portrayal of Levi and his descendants in the Hebrew Bible and in some of the key passages of the Dead Sea Scrolls (DSS) that bear witness to these characters and their prophetic roles. I will take into consideration only passages that clearly attest to prophetic activities, whereas fragmentary passages where the prophetic attributes of the Levites remain disputed are not discussed here.[3] I will carefully analyze these passages to show how Levi and his offspring access the divine will and express that will. Importantly, as the terms "prophecy" or "prophets" do not appear in the analyzed texts, I will make use of Manfred Weippert's definition of prophecy at this point. Weippert sees prophecy as a process of intermediation and defines it as a cognitive experience through which a person encounters a

[2] Some scholars have previously suggested such a connection. E.g., Raymond F. Person Jr. writes: "Many are prophets by vocation, but others are pro tem prophets, who speak on behalf of God to address a need on a certain occasion. These include priests, Levites, a layperson and even foreign monarchs." See Person, "Prophets in the Deuteronomistic History and the Book of Chronicles: A Reassessment," in *Israelite Prophecy and the Deuteronomistic History: Portrait, Reality, and the Formation of a History* (ed. M. R. Jacobus and R. F. Person Jr.; SBLAIL 14; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013), 187–99, esp. 196. Further, Mark A. Christian, "Middle-Tier Levites and the Plenary Reception of Revelation," in *Levites and Priests in Biblical History and Tradition* (ed. M. Leuchter and J. M. Hutton; SBLAIL 9; Atlanta: SBL, 2011), 173–98, has argued that there was a group of "middle tier" Levites who had prophetic role, something that Christian describes "between professional and lay prophets." For the various figures of the Levite family and their access to messages of divine origin in the texts that do not belong to the Hebrew Bible, see e.g., Florentino García Martínez, "Les rapports avec l'écriture des texts araméens trouvés à Qumran," in *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha and the Scriptures* (ed. E. Tigchelaar; BETL 270; Leuven: Peeters, 2014), 19–40.

[3] It is possible that such a portrayal would match other characters of the family too, e.g., the figure of Kohath, but due to the scanty manuscript evidence such a conclusion is not possible. The figure of Kohath is mostly referred to in the context of family lists (*ALD* 11:5–7; 12:1–5; 4Q543 1 a–c, 1 [=4Q545 1a I, 1]; 4Q544 1 1–3; *Jub.* 44:14). Virtually the only text that builds a portrayal of this figure is the so-called *Testament of Qahat* (4Q542) of the DSS. For an analysis on preserved references to Kohath, see Hanna Tervanotko, "A Trilogy of Testaments? The Status of the Testament of Qahat versus Texts Attributed to Levi and Amram," in *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha and the Scriptures*, 41–59.

revelation of one or more deities: Religious revelatory speech can be described as prophecy if (a) in cognitive experience (vision, audition, audiovisual experience, dream etc.), a person encounters the revelation of one or more deities and if (b) this person perceives herself/himself as being ordered to transmit what was revealed in either verbal (prophecy, prophetic word) or non-verbal communication (symbolic act).[4] This broad definition of prophecy characterizes it first as process of communication between the divine and an individual, and second, between the individual and the receiving community. I will explore both of these aspects.[5]

I will argue that the description of Levi and his grandson Amram in the texts of the late Second Temple era meets Weippert's definition of prophecy. The portrayal of Levi and Amram as prophetic figures has consequences for the understanding of the function of religious professionals in general and prophets in particular. Most concretely, characters known as priests in earlier texts are given prophetic features in later texts. Moreover, revelatory experiences attributed to the members of the Levite family have implications for the status of the texts. Authentic and ancient revelations attributed to known figures aimed at providing credibility to the new texts that preserved reports of such experiences.

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[4] Manfred Weippert, "Prophetie im Alten Orient," *Neues Bibel Lexikon* 3 (2001): 196–200. Trans. Armin Lange, "Greek Seers and Israelite-Jewish Prophets," *VT* 57 (2007): 461–82, esp. 464.

[5] Weippert's definition has been used in the field of Biblical Studies when prophecy of the Hebrew Bible has been compared with the literary traditions of prophets found in other ancient Near Eastern and Mediterranean cultures. See, e.g., Armin Lange, "Literary Prophecy and Oracle Collection: A Comparison Between Judah and Greece in Persian Times," in *Prophets, Prophecy, and Prophetic Texts in Second Temple Judaism* (ed. M. H. Floyd and R. D. Haak; LHB/OTS 427; New York: T&T Clark, 2006), 248–75; idem, "Oracle Collection and Canon: A Comparison Between Judah and Greece in Persian Times," in *Jewish and Christian Scripture as Artifact and Canon* (ed. C. A. Evans and H. D. Zacharias; London: T&T Clark, 2009), 9–47; Martti Nissinen, "What Is Prophecy? An Ancient Near Eastern Perspective," in *Inspired Speech: Prophecy in the Ancient Near East. Essays in Honor of Herbert B. Huffmon* (ed. J. Kaltner and L. Stulman; JSOTSup 372; London: T&T Clark, 2004), 17–37.

Members of the Family of Levi in Hebrew Bible

The figure of Levi features multiple times in the Hebrew Bible. Levi's birth is narrated in Gen 29:34 where he appears as Jacob's third son born by Leah.[6] The next passage where Levi features prominently is Gen 34:25–31, which narrates the Shechem incident, in which Levi and his brother Simeon slaughter the Shechemites after the rape of their sister Dinah. In light of his revenge on the Shechemites, the figure of Levi becomes known as a fierce and severe figure. The last reference to Levi in Genesis narrates Jacob blessing of his sons (Gen 49:1–28). Levi's blessing preserved in Gen 49:5–7 refers to the Shechem incident. Jacob's speech suggests that he does not approve of the violence exercised by Levi and Simeon.

> Simeon and Levi are brothers; weapons of violence are their swords. May I never come into their council; may I not be joined to their company—for in their anger they killed men, and at their whim they hamstrung oxen. Cursed be their anger, for it is fierce, and their wrath, for it is cruel! I will divide them in Jacob, and scatter them in Israel. (Gen 49:5–7)

Deuteronomy 33 contains Moses' blessing of the tribes of Israel and adds to the description of the figure of Levi in the Hebrew Bible. Verses 8–11 in particular refer to Levi who appears as a cipher for the tribe of Levi:

> And of Levi he said: Give to Levi your Thummim, and your Urim to your loyal one, whom you tested at Massah, with whom you contended at the waters of Meribah; who said of his father and mother, "I regard them not"; he ignored his kin, and did not acknowledge his children. For they observed your word, and kept your covenant. They teach Jacob your ordinances, and Israel your law; they place incense before you, and whole burnt-offerings on your altar. Bless, O Lord, his substance, and accept the work of his hands;

[6] "Again she conceived and bore a son, and said, 'Now this time my husband will be joined to me, because I have borne him three sons'; therefore he was named Levi" (Gen 29:34). All quotes from the Hebrew Bible in this article follow the NRSV.

> crush the loins of his adversaries, of those that hate him, so that they do not rise again. (Deut 33:8–11)

This reference is significant because it adds to the Genesis portrayal of Levi and simultaneously depicts the character in two different religious roles. First, the passage suggests that Levi has a priestly function, by referring to the altar and offerings (Deut 33:10). Second, it refers to the Urim and Thummim that Levi possesses.

The Urim and Thummim are significant in the development of traditions about the Levites, appearing in several passages of the Hebrew Bible and related literature.[7] In Exodus and Leviticus they are described as part of the high priest's clothing. They are put in the sacred breastplates of the high priest (Exod 28:15, 30).[8] Thus, they appear as tangible objects that were used somehow for making judgment (Exod 28:30). In 1 Sam 14:41 they refer to lots used to identify a sinner.[9] Further, the divinatory function of the Urim and Thummim is specified in 1 Sam 28:8: "When Saul inquired of the Lord, the Lord did not answer him, not by dreams, or by Urim, or by prophets." In this passage they are mentioned in parallel with intuitive divinatory methods. All in all, many scholars agree on their role in oracular activity, broadly defined—

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[7] See Exod 28:30; Lev 8:8; Num 27:21; Deut 33:8; 1 Sam 14:41; 28:6; Ezra 2:63 [=Neh 7:65]; Sir 45:10; 1 Esd 5:40. In my recent presentation (Hanna Tervanotko, "Levites as Diviners?" [paper presented at the annual meeting of the SBL, San Diego, Calif., 24 November 2014], 1–14), I analyzed the use of the Urim and Thummim in the broader ancient Jewish texts. I pointed out that most of the references point to "ancient times." For discussion, see e.g., John Strugnell, "Moses Pseudepigrapha at Qumran: 4Q375, 4Q376, and Similar Works," in *Archeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls: The New York University Conference in Memory of Yigael Yadin* (ed. L. H. Schiffman; JSPSup 8/JSOT and ASOR Monographs 2; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1990), 221–56, esp. 238–43, 247 and more recently, Lisbeth S. Fried, "Did the Second Temple High Priest Possess Urim and Thummim," *JHS 7*, no 3 (2007): 1–25.

[8] "In the breastpiece of judgment you shall put the Urim and the Thummim, and they shall be on Aaron's heart when he goes in before the Lord; thus Aaron shall bear the judgment of the Israelites on his heart before the Lord continually (Exod 28:30)."

[9] "Then Saul said, 'O Lord God of Israel, why have you not answered your servant today? If this guilt is in me or in my son Jonathan, O Lord God of Israel, give Urim; but if this guilt is in your people Israel, give Thummim.' And Jonathan and Saul were indicated by the lot, but the people were cleared. Then Saul said, 'Cast the lot between me and my son Jonathan.' And Jonathan was taken."

that the Urim and Thummim functioned as a lot oracle or that they were used to verify the divine origin of an oracle delivered by the priest.[10]

A more complete image of Levi which is not restricted to his fierce character is found in Mal 2:4–9.

> Know, then, that I have sent this command to you, so that my covenant with Levi may hold, says the Lord of hosts. My covenant with him was a covenant of life and well-being, which I gave him; this called for reverence, and he revered me and stood in awe of my name. True instruction was in his mouth, and no wrong was found on his lips. He walked with me in integrity and uprightness, and he turned many from iniquity. For the lips of a priest should guard knowledge, and people should seek instruction from his mouth, for he is the messenger of the Lord of hosts. But you have turned aside from the way; you have caused many to stumble by your instruction; you have corrupted the covenant of Levi, says the Lord of hosts, and so I make you despised and abased before all the people, inasmuch as you have not kept my ways but have shown partiality in your instruction. (Mal 2:4–9)

The passage emphasizes Levi's teaching role (Mal 2:6), which is connected with priestly tasks (Mal 2:7). It also outlines that people sought instruction from priests known as the true messengers of God (Mal 2:7). Significantly, this passage presents Levi as a communicator of divine will. This is suggested in verse 6, which reads: "True instruction was in his mouth, and no wrong was found on his lips. He walked with me in integrity and uprightness, and he turned many from iniquity." The first part of the sentence suggests that Levi had a role as an instructor and the second part clarifies that he walked with God. The last clause specifies that Levi turned people away from wrongdoing. Given the instructive role that Levi is offered in this context, it seems that he turned people away from iniquity in particular with his teaching. Fur-

[10] See C. Houtman, "The Urim and Thummim: A New Suggestion," *VT* 40 (1990): 229–332; Cornelis Van Dam, *The Urim and Thummim: A Means of Revelation in Ancient Israel* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1997); Frederick H. Cryer, *Divination in Israel and its Ancient Near Eastern Environment: A Socio-Historical Investigation* (LHB/OTS 142; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1994), 273–76. It should be stated, however, that the exact nature of the Urim and the Thummim cannot be retrieved from the passages of the Hebrew Bible.

ther, in this passage Levi is addressed as messenger of God ("for he is the messenger of the Lord of Hosts." כי מלאך יהוה צבאות הוא).[11] Note that the term "messenger" (מלאך) usually refers to heavenly messengers, including the prophets (e.g., Mal 1:1; Hag 1:13). Scholars have previously suggested that with this sentence, the author has attempted to place the priest on the same level with the prophet.[12]

The remaining references to Levi in the Hebrew Bible concern genealogies. The offspring of Levi are referred to in these passages only in passing and no attention is dedicated to the individual figures of this family.[13] In sum, the passages referring to Levi convey a multifaceted image of this character. First and foremost, Levi is depicted as a ruthless and revengeful fighter. When Levi's role as a servant of God is described, it is closely associated with a priestly function, as can be seen in the references to his instructions and in his role in the altar.

Yet the portrayal of Levi is not restricted to an aggressive characterization and priestly-like portrayal. From the perspective of this study it is interesting that the reference to the Urim and Thummim in Deut 33:8–11 suggests that through his priestly role Levi was somehow connected with oracular inquiry. Further, Mal 2:4–9 presents him as God's trusted messenger. Such references to Levi demonstrate that the authors of these texts interpreted the figure of Levi in varying ways.

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[11] The views on the addressee of this passage differ. Julia M. O'Brien, *Priest and Levite in Malachi* (SBLDS 121; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 36–37, thinks that Levi in this passage parallels with the term priests and thus indicates a group rather than an individual. James L. Kugel, "Levi's Elevation to the Priesthood," *HTR* 86 (1993): 1–64, esp. 31, insists the passage talks about the individual.

[12] O'Brien, *Priest and Levite in Malachi*, 42–44; Russell Fuller, "The Blessing of Levi in Dtn 33, Mal 2 and Qumran," in *Konsequente Traditiongeschichte. Festschrift für Klaus Baltzer zum 65. Geburtstag* (ed. R. Bartelmus, T. Krüger, and H. Utzschneider; Fribourg: Éditions universitaires, 1993), 31–44, esp. 39.

[13] For Levi in the lists, see Gen 35:23; Exod 1:2; 1 Chr 2:1. For Levi's offspring, see Gen 46:11; Exod 6:16; Num 3:17; 16:1; 26:57–59; 1 Chr 5:27–29; 6:1–4. Apart from these references that attest to the direct offspring of Levi, the Hebrew Bible contains passages that witness to larger family of Levi. Exod 4:14 outlines Aaron as a Levite descendent. Note that even more passages refer to the "tribe of Levi" or "house of Levi." Sometimes it is difficult to distinguish whether these passages have any implication to Levi as an individual character. As references to the Levites as a group are numerous in the Hebrew Bible, they are not taken into account in this analysis.

The Dead Sea Scrolls on Levi and Amram

As mentioned above, in section one, the aspect of Levi that has been analyzed at length previously concerns Levi's development into a priest in the texts of the late Second Temple era. Meanwhile, the other characteristics of the figure, including his possible prophetic role, have not been explored to the same extant.[14] Rather, Levi's access to the divine will has received only sparse attention in scholarship. In what follows I will concentrate on those characteristics of Levi and his offspring Amram that indicate these figures experienced revelations that they later transmitted.

Levi

Levi in the *Aramaic Levi Document*

Two texts witnessed by the DSS that are particularly rich with references to Levi's possible prophetic role are the *Aramaic Levi Document* (*ALD*) and *Jubilees*. I will look at these two texts in succession, considering how they depict Levi's access to divine will and the similarities and differences between their descriptions. Both texts attest to Levi's dream

[14] For the development into priest, see Kugel, "Levi's Elevation to the Priesthood"; Robert A. Kugler, *From Patriarch to Priest: The Levi-Priestly Tradition from Aramaic Levito Testament of Levi* (SBLEJL 9; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996). Levi's connection to instructions is analyzed in Henryk Drawnel, *An Aramaic Wisdom Text from Qumran: A New Interpretation of the Levi Document* (JSJSup 86; Leiden: Brill, 2004). Further, the prophetic qualities of Levi have been addressed in studies that focus on the *Testament of Twelve Patriarchs* and *Joseph and Aseneth*. The former contains several parallels with *ALD*. In the latter Levi is portrayed as a seer, prophet and military hero. Aseneth favors him for his access to heavenly secrets. See Marius de Jonge and Johannes Tromp, "Jacob's Son Levi in the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha and Related Literature," in *Biblical Figures Outside the Bible* (ed. M. E. Stone and T. A. Bergren; Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity Press International), 226–28; Kugler, "Levi," in *Eerdmans Dictionary of Early Judaism* (ed. J. J. Collins and D. C. Harlow; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2010), 884–85.

vision, but the version preserved in *ALD* is more complex than the one in *Jubilees*.[15]

Let us start with *ALD*. The first passage that clearly attests to Levi accessing divine will through his visions and visionary journey is found in *ALD* 4.[16]

> Then [ ] I lay down and remained o[n
> Then I was shown visions (חזין אחזית) [ ] in the vision of visions (בחזית חזויא)
> And I saw (וחזית) the heaven[s] beneath me, high until it reached
> The heaven[s
> [ ] to me the gates of heaven, and an
> angel (ומלאך) […] (*ALD* 4:3–6)

This passage refers to Levi's communication with the Divine, which takes place through visions. In this passage the key term that indicates visions is from the root חזה, which appears in this context both as nouns and as verbs. As a verb form, it points to perceiving by seeing, whereas the noun חזו stands for apparition, vision and appearance.[17] The terms are known also in Hebrew and they are frequently connected with texts that refer to prophecy in the Hebrew Bible.[18] Moreover, they

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[15] The relationship between these two texts is debated. Pierre Grelot, "Notes sur le Testament araméen de Lévi," *RB* 63 (1956): 391–406, esp. 402–3, suggested that the two depended on a common source. Later many scholars have proposed that *ALD* is an earlier witness to the Levi traditions than *Jubilees*. E.g., Cana Werman, "Levi and Levites in the Second Temple Period," *DSD* 4 (1997): 211–25, esp. 221–22, suggests that the writer of *Jubilees* knew *Aramaic Levi* but reworked and rewrote it. Similarly Kugler, *From Patriarch to Priest*, 134; James C. VanderKam, "Isaac's Blessing of Levi and his Descendants in *Jubilees* 31," in *Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technological Innovations, New Texts and Reformulated Issues* (ed. D. W. Parry and E. Ulrich; STDJ 30; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 497–518, esp. 513, 515–16. Meanwhile, Kugel, "Levi's Elevation to the Priesthood," has argued that the account of *Jubilees* is earlier than the one of *ALD*.

[16] The edition of the *ALD* and the translations follow Jonas C. Greenfield, Michael Stone and Esther Eshel, *The Aramaic Levi Document: Edition, Translation, Commentary* (SVTP 19; Leiden: Brill, 2004). This passage is attested to in 4QLevi^{b}ar (4Q213a) and 4QLevi^{c}ar (4Q213b). In more extant form this passage is preserved in a Bodleian manuscript.

[17] *HALOT* 1:301–2; 2:1872–73.

[18] The verb form is חזה and the noun "visions" is חזון. See *HALOT* 1:301–2. For the texts, see e.g., Isa 1:1; 2:1; 13:1; 29:7; Amos 1:1; Micah 1:1; Ps 89:20; Ob 1:1; Dan 1:17; 8:2; 9:21, 24.

frequently appear in the Jewish Aramaic literature of the late Second Temple period where visionary experiences are discussed.[19]

Ancient Jewish literature attests to different types of visionary experiences; yet sometimes these are not easily defined. For instance, the difference between dreaming as a nocturnal activity and receiving visions is not readily explainable. In fact, it has been argued previously that the terms vision (חזו) and dream (חלם) are interchangeable. Most dreams and visions were believed to have a divine origin. Whether the individual was considered to be awake or not did not refute the divine origin of the dream in the Second Temple period.[20] As far as we can tell from the fragmentary nature of the document, the passage concerning Levi's vision is not explicit about the setting. The reference to lying down in *ALD* 4:3 indicates the character may have been asleep.

Apart from the vision narrative, the passage implies some type of an otherworldly journey where Levi enters another realm. A visionary journey is one type of a literary visionary experience in which the soul of the dreamer or visionary tours unreachable spheres.[21] An early example of a visionary tour is reported in Ezekiel chapters 8–11, where Ezekiel, accompanied by an otherworldly being, makes a tour of Jerusalem. Visionary journeys are a common motif in post-exilic literature (e.g., *1 En.* 13:7-36:4).[22]

The next passage sheds more light on the medium in which Levi's vision occurs:

> And those seven departed from me.
> And I awoke from my sleep.
> Then I said, "this is a vision and like this (vision)[אמרת חזוא הוא דן וכדן אנה],
> I am amazed that I should have any vision at all."
> And I hid this too in my heart and I revealed it to nobody. (*ALD* 4:12–13)

[19] For the use in the literature of the Second Temple era, see Frances Flannery-Dailey, *Dreamers, Scribes, and Priests*: *Jewish Dreams in the Hellenistic and Roman Eras* (JSJSup 90; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 130–31.
[20] Flannery-Dailey, *Dreamers, Scribes, and Priests*, 130–32.
[21] Flannery-Dailey, *Dreamers, Scribes, and Priests*, 170–71.
[22] For a complex study on texts involving ascent to heaven, see Martha Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

This passage adds to the previous one by explaining that Levi awakens from sleep. Thus, his vision appears to have taken place in a dream.[23] It has been suggested that "those seven" of *ALD* 4:12 refer to the seven angels who carried out Levi's installation into priesthood.[24] This is supported by some ancient Jewish texts where the number of archangels is seven (e.g., *1 En* 90:21; Tob 12:15).[25] I will discuss the angels more in detail below when dealing with the *Visions of Amram*.

The *Aramaic Levi Document* 11 adds to Levi's visions. In this chapter Levi narrates the births of his four children: Gershom, Kohath, Merari, and Jochebed. Interestingly, Levi has dream messages that forecast future events. Regarding Gershom, Levi says: "My seed shall be sojourners in the land in which I was born. We are sojourners as now in the land which is reckoned ours. And concerning the youth, I saw in my dream (or: vision) that he and his seed will be cast out of the high priesthood" (*ALD* 11:3). This vision is grounded in the etymology of the name Gershom. The first part of Levi's vision predicts that his offspring will not continue living in Egypt. The latter part refers to the functions that the sons of Gershom will have in the temple (e.g., 1 Chr 26:21–22), which differ from those given to the descendants of Kohath.

Levi also foresees Kohath's birth in a vision: "and] I [sa]w that to him [would] be an assembly of all [the people and that] he would have the high-priesthood; he and his seed will be the beginning of kings, a priesthood for [all Is]rael" (*ALD* 11:6). Similar to the vision concerning Gershom, this dream is based on the etymology of Kohath's name. This dream promises Kohath and his son a glorious future and authorizes the future role of Kohath as the heir of Levi's priesthood. It seems that Levi does not receive visions concerning the birth and significance of Merari

[23] For the awakening terminology and formulae, see Flannery-Dailey, *Dreamers, Scribes, and Priests*, 133–34; Andrew B. Perrin, "Dream-Visions in the Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls: Shared Compositional Patterns and Concerns" (Ph.D. diss., McMaster University, 2013), 88–94.
[24] Jonas C. Greenfield and Michael E. Stone, "Remarks on the Aramaic Testament of Levi from the Geniza," *RB* 86 (1979): 214–30. Similarly Drawnel, *An Aramaic Wisdom Text*, 247.
[25] Archie T. Wright, "Angels," in *The Eerdmans Dictionary of Early Judaism* (ed. J. J. Collins and D. C. Harlow; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2010), 328–31, 329. Other traditions witness to four archangels.

and Jochebed. Thus his dream message concerns only half of his immediate offspring.

Significantly, *ALD* preserves information concerning the transmission of Levi's visions. The text narrates Levi hiding his vision ("And I hid this too in my heart and I revealed it to nobody" *ALD* 4:13). Hiding a vision or a dream is a literary motif that appears in other ancient Jewish texts: for instance, Noah (1QapGen^{ar} 6:12) and Daniel (Dan 7:28) also hide their visions, disclosing their contents only later. Drawnel has suggested that the motif of the vision that is kept secret emphasizes the selective and private nature of the revelation.[26] This implies that the knowledge that is transmitted to Levi is confidential and secret by nature. Moreover, the motif accords to Levi the status of a divinely selected individual.

While the above listed aspects of the narrative in *ALD* connect Levi with *access* to divine will, it is significant that the text does not explicitly bear witness to a clear process of transmission. In the preserved narrative, Levi does not reveal the contents of his vision to anyone. Nonetheless, one should not dismiss the end of the text where Levi summons his children. This passage includes a vision of the glorious future of his descendants (13:15–16): "And now my sons, reading and writing and the teaching of wi[sdo]m which I lea[rned] I saw… [ ] you will inherit them…" (וכען בני ספר ומוסר ח[כ]מה אלפ[ת]חזית ת..חו[ ] תרתון אנון). It is possible that these and the following lines somehow refer to Levi's earlier visions, but due to manuscript deterioration, this remains speculative. It is remarkable that this passage emphasizes that Levi's offspring do not merely inherit the tasks and responsibilities of a priestly family. Reading, writing, and teaching of wisdom are a part of their inheritance in *ALD*.

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[26] Drawnel, *An Aramaic Wisdom Text*, 248: "the parallelism with Genesis Apocryphon indicates that Levi's vision is a revelation concerning things known to God alone, and revealed to his servant. In apocalyptic thinking God knows mysteries that are revealed only to his chosen ones. Levi is the recipient of this hidden heavenly revelation mediated by the angels." For possession of special knowledge in the Aramaic texts of Qumran, see also Samuel Thomas, "Esoteric Knowledge in Qumran Aramaic Texts," in *Aramaica Qumranica* (ed. K. Berthelot and D. Stökl Ben-Ezra; STDJ 94; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 403–30.

Levi in *Jubilees*

The figure of Levi features prominently in the Book of *Jubilees*.[27] This text is particularly interested in Levi's entry to the priesthood. *Jubilees* 30:18–20 explains that Levi's revenge on the Shechemites is one reason for Levi's elevation into priesthood: "Levi's descendants were chosen for the priesthood and as Levites to serve before the Lord as we (do) for all time. Levi and his sons will be blessed forever because he was eager to carry out justice, punishment, and revenge on all who rise against Israel" (*Jub*. 30:18).

Another narrative that elaborates Levi's entry into the priesthood occurs when Jacob takes his sons Levi and Judah to his father Isaac (*Jub*. 31:5–29). When Isaac meets Jacob's sons Levi and Judah, his blindness is temporarily removed, enabling him to see them (*Jub*. 31:9). Then, *Jub*. 31:12 narrates that a spirit of prophecy comes to Isaac and he blesses Levi and Judah ("A spirit of prophecy descended into his mouth. He took Levi by his right hand and Judah by his left hand" *Jub*. 31:12). Thus, it may not be only Isaac who speaks, but the Divine, whose message is transmitted by Isaac. The phrase "a/the spirit of prophecy" is not found elsewhere in *Jubilees* or in the Hebrew Bible.[28] While this narrative does not include any instructions about the priesthood that Isaac would give Levi, it should be seen as a literary tradition that emphasizes the shift in the status of Levi.[29]

Levi also appears as a dreamer in *Jubilees*. His dream message, where he foresees appointment of himself and his offspring to the

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[27] The following analysis is based on the critical edition of *Jubilees*: James C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees: A Critical Text* (CSCO 510; Leuven: Peeters, 1989). The Ge'ez text is the largest preserved version of *Jubilees* and thus the critical edition of the text largely depends on it. The DSS that preserve *Jubilees* are fragmentary and preserve only parts of the text. The English translation follows James C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees: Translation* (CSCO 511; Leuven: Peeters, 1989).

[28] VanderKam, "Isaac's Blessing of Levi," 502, points out that it appears in the New Testament, Rev 19:10. The Latin version of *Jubilees* reads: "et spiritus profetiae aduenit in os isac et tenuit leuui in manu dextera sua et iudam in sinistra." See VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees: A Critical Text*, 285. The passage is not preserved in Hebrew or Greek.

[29] This is also pointed out by Kugel, "Levi's Elevation in the Priesthood," esp. 6–7, 17–19, 22–24.

priesthood, is accounted for in *Jub*. 32:1: "Levi dreamed that he—he and his sons—had been appointed and made into the priesthood of the most high God forever. When he awakened, he blessed the Lord."[30] This narrative preserves a different reaction to the vision than found in *ALD*. While *ALD* emphasizes that Levi kept his vision secret, *Jubilees* outlines his thankfulness for the revelation he has experienced. The text does not explicitly refer to Levi transmitting his dream to the others, but as the broader context narrates him being with Jacob and Judah, it is possible that they are assumed to be present after his dream.

Finally, the theme of scribal transmission appears in *Jubilees*, too. This does not concern the visions directly, but texts that the figure of Levi possesses. According to *Jubilees*, Jacob transmitted his books to his son Levi: "He gave all his books and the books of his fathers to his son Levi so that he could preserve them and renew them for his sons until today" (*Jub*. 45:15). However, the passage does not detail *which* books Levi received. Thus, the contents of the books Levi inherits remain unknown.[31]

Notably, *Jubilees* is aware of the story of Levi's zealous rage (cf. Gen 34:25–31), a quality that is developed into a positive characteristic of Levi. His fierce attitude qualifies him as an exemplary figure. The fact that this aspect is explained as constituting fear of God permits him to access the priesthood. Levi is also known to access dreams that contain information about the future. When his grandfather Isaac encounters him, Isaac receives a prophecy, apparently because of his proximity to Levi.

These passages contain the most complete references to the figure of Levi preserved in the DSS.[32] In sum, the two texts that belong to the

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[30] In contrast to *ALD* that suggests Levi had more than one vision *Jubilees* narrates only one vision. That has been interpreted in different ways regarding the history of this tradition in general and with regards to the intertextual relationship between *ALD* and *Jubilees* in particular. For literature, see n. 15.

[31] García-Martínez, "Les rappots avec l'écriture," 19–40, points out that tradition is passed forward through a chain of tradition that goes from Enoch to Levi in *Jubilees.*

[32] For the shorter references to Levi in the DSS, see George J. Brooke, "Levi and the Levites in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament* (Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress Press, 2005), 116.

collection, *ALD* and *Jubilees*, offer a firsthand witness to the literary Levi traditions of the late Second Temple era. They attest to a shift in the interpretation concerning this figure. While a portrayal of Levi as priest is present in these texts, details attached with the literary Levi traditions build up an image of Levi that also connects him with prophecy.

Amram

Above I pointed out that Levi's direct offspring receive only marginal interest in the Hebrew Bible. The members of his family are mostly referred to in family genealogies that generally do not provide detailed information concerning individual figures. The character that appears most frequently in these texts is Levi's grandson Amram who is mentioned in the lists of Exod 6:20 and Num 26:59. Both Exod 6:20 and Num 26:59 document Amram's marriage to Jochebed, Levi's daughter.[33] These lists connect Amram with his sons Moses and Aaron, while Num 26:59 also connects him to his daughter Miriam.

Levi's grandson Amram is the descendant that receives the most ample treatment in other ancient Jewish texts. The most extensive retelling of Amram is found in a text called the *Visions of Amram* that is preserved in five to seven fragmentary manuscripts (4Q543–549).[34] The

[33] This union has been a topic of ample discussion in the literature concerning marriage with family members. For the marriage between these two figures, see Hanna Tervanotko, "Members of Levite Family and Ideal Marriages in *Aramaic Levi Document*, *Visions of Amram*, and *Jubilees*," *RevQ*, forthcoming 2015.

[34] The *Visions of Amram* was officially published by Émile Puech, "4QVisions de Amram[a-g]: Introduction," in *Qumrân Grotte 4. XXII: Textes araméens, première partie: 4Q529-549* (DJD XXXI; Oxford, Clarendon, 2001). In this edition, Puech assigns the manuscripts 4Q548–549 to the *Visions of Amram*. See Puech, "Visions d'Amram[f] ar," 391–98, esp. 391–92; idem, "Visions d'Amram[g] ar," 399–405, esp. 399. Despite this, the status of these continues to be discussed. See, Robert R. Duke, *The Social Location of the Visions of Amram 4Q543–547* (Studies in Biblical Literature 135; New York: Peter Lang, 2010), 35–42; Liora Goldman, "Dualism in the Visions of Amram," *RevQ* 95 (2010): 421–32. For some recent studies on the figure of Amram in the texts of the Second Temple era, see Pieter W. van der Horst, "Moses' Father Speaks Out," in *Flores Florentino: Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Early Jewish Studies in Honour of Florentino García Martínez* (ed. A. Hilhorst, É. Puech, and E. Tig-

following analysis is based on those of the five manuscripts that preserve the name of Amram in them (4Q543–547). They preserve a passage that attests to Amram's vision(s). The beginning of what appears to be the vision scene is best preserved in the *Visions of Amram*^{b} (4Q544). The text states:

> in my vision, the vision of the dream (בחזוי חזוה די חלמא), *vacat* and there were two figures arguing over me, and saying [his]
> and holding a great dispute over me. So I asked them, "How is it that you have [authority over me?" They said, "We have received] authority and we rule over all the sons of Adam."
> And they said to me, which of us do you [seek to be ruled by? And behold, I lifted my eyes and saw]
> [one] of them, whose appearance [was moulting (?) [like a ser]pent [and all] his clothing was multicoloured and very dark; [his face *vacat*]
> [and I saw another and he was pleasant] in his appearance, and his face was laughing [and he was covered with a garment]
> very much, and above his eyes (4Q544 1 10–15)[35]

Just as in *ALD*, this passage employs the noun חזו while referring to the visions. Evidently, the figure of Amram appears as a prophetic character, something not surprising in light of the prophetic connotations of this term. The two figures in this passage require some clarification. Their identities are not explicitly revealed, but they are simply referred to as "the two" (תרין). They are told to argue over Amram, trying to win him over. Amram needs to decide which one he will follow. Scholars have argued that these otherworldly characters should be interpreted

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chelaar; JSJSup 122; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 491–98; Jacques Van Ruiten, "Moses and His Parents: The Intertextual Relationship between Exodus 1:22–2:10 and *Jubilees* 47:1–9," in *Rewritten Bible Reconsidered: Proceedings of the Conference in Karkku, Finland August 24–26 2006* (ed. A. Laato and J. Van Ruiten; Studies in Rewritten Bible 1; Turku: Åbo Akademi and Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2008), 43–78.

[35] Translation by E. Cook, "Visions of Amram," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader, Vol 3: Parabiblical Texts* (ed. D. W. Parry and E. Tov; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 412–43. The same passage is preserved in 4Q543 3–9 and 4Q547 1–2, although these manuscripts have suffered decay to a much greater extent.

as angels even if the term angel (cf. the *ALD* 4:6) does not appear in this passage.[36]

It should be pointed out that angels are closely connected with the concept of revelation in Jewish literature of the late Second Temple era. Above it was pointed out how they sometimes accompany people in their otherworldly journeys. Yet, already their appearance can be a sign of another realm (e.g., 2 Macc 3:25–26). Further, they are known as teachers (*1 En.* 56). The role of angels in visions and dreams is particularly developed in this period. Symbolic dreams and visions require interpretation, and angels as divine messengers are particularly fit for that role (e.g., Dan 4:10, 20). The importance of the angels is that they execute deeds on behalf of God.[37] Sometimes their task is to interpret a coded message (Dan 7:16–28).

A few lines later, the passage communicates further information about these anonymous figures. One of them is described as a dreadful figure (4Q544 1 13) whereas the other has a friendlier appearance (4Q544 1 14), a characterization that seems to evoke a dualist worldview.[38] Such a dualistic portrayal is even intensified in the next fragment of *Visions of Amram*^{b} (4Q544 2 1–6), where the terminology of light and darkness is employed to explain the domains of the two figures.

> r]ules over you[
>] who is this [Watcher?] He said to me, "This one is n[amed

[36] Puech, "Visions de Amram^{b} ar," 327; Goldman, "Dualism in the Visions of Amram," 424–25; Duke, *The Social Location of the Visions of Amram*, 79–88.

[37] Flannery-Dailey, *Dreamers, Scribes, and Priests*, 45, 154, outlines that in comparison with the angelology of the Hebrew Bible, the references to angels in later literature are more developed. For angels in the late Second Temple era, see, e.g., Michael Mach, *Entwicklungsstadien des jüdischen Engelglaubens in vorrabbinischer Zeit* (TSAJ 34; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992); Loren T. Stuckenbruck, *Angel Veneration and Christology: A Study in Early Judaism and in the Christology of the Apocalypse of John* (WUNT II/70; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1995).

[38] J. T. Milik, "Milki-sedeq et Milki-resa dans les anciens écits juifs et chrètiens," *JJS* 23 (1973): 95–144, 127, 133; Duke, *The Social Location of the Visions of Amram*, 79–88. For dualism in the *Visions of Amram* in general, see Goldman, "Dualism in the Visions of Amram," 421–32, for the two figures, see esp. 424–25.

>]and Malki-Resha (ruler of wickedness)." *vacat* And I said, "My lord, what is the domi[nion
> dark]ness, all his deeds are darkness, and he l[eads] into darkness[
> yo]u see, and he rules over all darkness, while I [
> from] the [h]eight to the depths, I am ruler over all light and a[ll (4Q544 2 1–6)

One of them rules everything that is dark (4Q544 2 4–6) whereas the other one has dominion over all that is bright (4Q544 2 6). These characteristics, i.e., that they together rule over all humanity, imply that they have been charged with some kind of divine assignment. This suggests that Amram's vision contained some type of revelation. While their exact nature remains hypothetical, they are characterized as opposites.[39] For the purpose of this study it is important to note that otherworldly characters appear in Amram's vision and that they play some role in his revelation. Finally, the text narrates Amram waking up from his dream.

>] Then I awoke from the sleep of my eyes (ואנה אתעירת מן שנת עיני [ )
> and I wrote down the vision (וחזוא כתב[ת)[in writing before I went down]
> from the land of Canaan and it happened to me as [the angel] said [to me (4Q547 9 8–9)

This passage demonstrates that during the encounter with the divine messengers, Amram was not awake, but that the episode took place in his dream. While the exact contents of the revelations are not explicitly preserved, it is possible that, just like his forefather Levi, Amram was instructed about the future of his children.[40] Significantly, the text refers explicitly to all three children: Moses, Aaron, and Miriam (e.g., 4Q545 4 15–19; 4Q546 10 1–4; 12 1–4). Later Amram may return to his en-

[39] For the discussion see, Paul Kobelski, *Melchizedek and Melchiresa* (CBQMS 10; Washington D.C.: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1981); Florentino García Martínez, "4QAmram B 1, 14: Melki-resa' o Melki-sedeq?" *RevQ* 12 (1987): 111–14; Duke, *The Social Location of the Visions of Amram*, 79–88.

[40] Puech, "4QVisions de 'Amram^{c} ar," 343–44. I explore this possibility further in Tervanotko, *Denying Her Voice: The Figure of Miriam in Ancient Jewish Literature* (JAJSup; Göttingen: Vandenhoek & Ruprecht), forthcoming.

counter with the two otherworldly beings, e.g., 4Q546 14 4–5 reads: "And now, my sons, hear what [I am commanding you and what] I saw [in the vision of]" (וכען בני שמעו די [אנה מפקד לכון ודי] חזית [בחזו]ה/ת).

The awakening scene in the *Visions of Amram* differs remarkably from the two previously studied texts. Here, Amram's reaction to his vision(s) does not appear to be modeled after Levi. Notably, Amram does not hide the events in his heart nor does he thank God for the revelation he has experienced. Rather, he makes sure that he will later remember the experience by writing it down (4Q547 9 8–9). Thus, when he later reports the events (in the narrative of the *Visions of Amram*) he does not rely only on his memory, but on his written memoir as well. The passage finishes by stating that things happened to him as anticipated in his dream.[41]

Finally, the transmission of Amram's vision is reported. Amram transmits the content of his message to his offspring orally, as the *Visions of Amram* narrates. The fragmentary *Visions of Amram* does not permit us to discuss whether Amram was asked to hide his encounter with the otherworldly beings from the others. It seems that there is a notable time gap between Amram's encounter with the two figures and the deathbed scene where he tells his offspring about past events. It is possible that Amram, like his grandfather Levi, kept the vision as a secret until the right moment to reveal it had arrived.

Apart from his oral testament to his children, Amram also transmits it in a written form, as indicated by the title of the book preserved in 4Q543 1–2: "A copy of the book 'The Words of the Vision of ʿAmram [son of Kohath, son of Levi.' It contains everything that] he told his sons and everything that he commanded them on [the day he died]." The text implies that Amram's children later possessed a written record of Amram's visions and they could consult it after Amram's death.

[41] The passage is broken but this conclusion seems justified because the verbs "happen" and "said" are preserved in the manuscript. See the translation of 4Q547 9:8–9.

Discussion

The findings of the analytical section of this study reveal that various aspects in the depictions of Levi and Amram meet Manfred Weippert's broad definition of prophecy outlined in section one. First and foremost, *ALD*, *Jubilees* and the *Visions of Amram* portray Levi and Amram entering into communication with the divine through cognitive means such as visions, dreams, otherworldly journeys, and encounters with divine beings. Concerning the second point of Weippert's definition, i.e., the transmission of the divine will, this analysis demonstrates that at least Amram passes on the contents of his revelations. In what follows, I will elaborate on these points, comparing the prophetic characteristics of the figures of Levi and Amram reflected in the analyzed texts, and highlighting literary elements found in prophetic discourse. Thereafter, I will reflect on the implications of the conclusion that these figures are given prophetic qualities.

When describing the prophetic experiences of Levi and Amram, the texts occur to agree on a number of aspects. As already indicated above, the cognitive experiences that allow the figures to encounter the divine are similar. Further, the form of revelation that occurs most frequently in the texts featuring Levi and Amram are visions. The visions attributed to Levi and Amram share some remarkable similarities. Most concretely, on the level of terminology they employ the same vocabulary. The key term indicating their access to visions in *ALD* and *Visions of Amram* is חזו. It is possible that Levi's and Amram's access to the divine will was understood to take place through similar means.

The visions preserved in *ALD* and the *Visions of Amram* both depict divine beings that facilitate the revelations, although functions of these beings may be somewhat different in each text. In *ALD*, the angels appear during the otherworldly journey. They may be a part of the structure of the heavens that Levi sees, but it is possible that he had an accompanying angel during the journey (as Enoch did). Meanwhile, Amram encounters two opposing figures that seem to fight over him. In contrast to these narratives, the *Jubilees* does not describe an angelic figure in its report of Levi's dream.

The narrative frameworks around the visions in these texts also share some interesting parallels. The visionary activities attributed to Levi and Amram take place in locations that are somehow unusual for them. During their visions, Levi and Amram are both somewhere away from home. Levi's dream takes place in Bethel in *Jubilees*, a location associated with events in the life of Abraham (Gen 12:8; 13:3–4) and, remarkably, the site of Jacob's nocturnal vision (Gen 28:10–22). In *ALD* the setting is not clear, but there is strong evidence to claim that Levi is on a journey. *Aramaic Levi Document* 4:2, a passage that appears before Levi's vision scene, refers to a place called Abel Mayyin, which some scholars have argued to be a mountain. The preposition מן that occurs in the passage could indicate that Levi is no longer on the mountain, but has rather descended.[42] In the *Visions of Amram*, the protagonist is sojourning in Hebron. The fact that the literary characters access divine visions while they are located in an unusual setting indicates that their access to revelations takes place is unusual and sporadic, unlike professional prophets who receive divine messages frequently.[43] This may indicate that they are not "professional prophets," i.e., characters that are known to access the divine knowledge on a regular basis in the ancient Jewish texts.[44] It is possible that the figures act thus as temporary, non-professional (i.e., "ad hoc") prophets, who temporarily fulfill the role of prophet.[45]

The revelations seem to take place relatively early in the life of the protagonists, before their marriage or before they have their own fami-

[42] For the location of this mountain, see Greenfield, Stone and Eshel, *The Aramaic Levi Document*, 135–36.

[43] This literary trope is recognized for instance in the Genesis narratives. See, e.g., Diana Lipton, *Revisions in the Night: Politics and Promises in the Patriarchal Dreams of Genesis* (JSOTS 288; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 220, who highlights that the patriarchal dreams of Genesis take place at a time of anxiety or danger.

[44] Ezekiel was known to prophesize in Babylon (Ezek 1:1), Amos operated in Tekoa (Amos 1:1), and Hulda in Jerusalem (2 Kgs 22:13–16). Despite these examples, note that also the prophets of the Hebrew Bible could operate in different settings. Cf., the prophet Elijah in 1 Kgs 17–19.

[45] For the term "ad hoc prophet," see Gary N. Knoppers, "Democratizing Revelation? Prophets, Seers and Visionaries in Chronicles," in *Prophecy and Prophets in Ancient Israel* (ed. J. Day; London: Continuum, 2010), 391–409.

lies. The young age of the protagonist may be a literary motif that aims at highlighting the exceptionality of the visionary figure.[46] Further, their young age is an essential part of the narrative, inasmuch as the contents of the visions are confirmed only later. On the one hand, the visions concern the future of Levi and Amram and may be intended to prepare them for their adult life and the fulfillment of their visions. On the other hand, the visions deal with the offspring of Levi and Amram—their children and grandchildren. In this regard, the visions are fulfilled only later after the birth of their children. As pointed out earlier in this study, such a depiction authorizes other characters, e.g., the figure of Kohath, whose significance is revealed to Levi in a vision.[47] It is also important to point out that the visions differ in length. The *Jubilees* account of the dream is relatively short. It simply states that Levi dreamed that he and his descendants entered into priesthood. Thereby, the dream appears to deal with one single motif: it motivates Levi's entry into priesthood, but lacks other messages. In contrast, the visions preserved in *ALD* and the *Visions of Amram* are longer and function on multiple levels.

Throughout the analytical section I have attempted to distinguish two separate levels of prophecy: the access to revelatory experiences and the transmission of such revelation. As stated above, the portrayal of Levi and Amram in *ALD* and the *Visions of Amram* confirms that these figures meet Weippert's second criterion for prophecy, i.e., the transmission of the revelation to their audiences. The transmission is particularly evident in the *Visions of Amram*, where Amram delivers a farewell address to his offspring during which he narrates his revelatory experience. Amram's visions that deal with his future and the future of his offspring are thus not revealed to a broad audience. Rather, they are disclosed to a very restricted, selected, and privileged audience: his immediate descendants. They are the people whom the visions directly concern. Moreover, Amram's visions are also preserved in written form

[46] Cf. young Joseph dreaming divine dreams in Gen 37.
[47] For the esoteric knowledge that concerns offspring, see Thomas, "Esoteric Knowledge in Qumran Aramaic Texts."

for later consultation. In Levi's case, such transmission is much more doubtful. Nonetheless, it is possible that the reference to the "reading and writing and the teaching of wisdom" (*ALD* 13:15) that his offspring will inherit implies that he too narrated his visions. Further, *Jubilees* (45:15) mentions that Levi inherited all his ancestors' books so that he might preserve and renew them for his sons. In particular, the idea that the books were not only kept but perhaps also revised suggests that the next generations are envisioned as consulting them. Interestingly, the texts together suggest that the divine knowledge revealed to various figures of the Levite family remained exclusively in the hands of this family.

Conclusions

Earlier studies concerning Levi and his descendants have singled out the "magnetic quality" of their priesthood in the late Second Temple era texts.[48] This study contributes to the discussion concerning the nature of their priesthood by highlighting one characteristic that was incorporated in the revised image of Levi and his grandson Amram: that of prophecy. In the beginning of my analysis, I distinguished elements of early literary Levi traditions that connect this figure with accessing the divine will. For instance, references to the Urim and Thummim (Deut 33:8–11) and Levi's teaching (Mal 2:4–9) open broader avenues for the interpretation of this figure.

This analysis adds to the previous analysis of Levi's magnetic priesthood. It demonstrates that the members of Levi's family could be portrayed as priests and, simultaneously, in roles that imply prophetic functions. The boundaries between priestly and prophetic functions ascribed to Levi and Amram are not distinct or exclusive in these texts.

Reinterpretation of already existing traditions about Levi and Amram allowed texts like *Jubilees*, *ALD*, and the *Visions of Amram* to at-

[48] For the term "magnetic quality," see n. 1.

tribute prophetic characteristics to both figures, qualities that they do not possess in the earlier biblical passages. It seems likely that the prophetic activities were attributed to the established figures, i.e., Levi and Amram, for different reasons. On the one hand, attributing new traditions to such characters was an essential strategy to claim greater authority and increased significance for these figures.[49] Seemingly, the new literary traditions demonstrate their exceptional qualities and access to revelation. They also single them and their offspring out as God's selected family, revealing Levi's and Amram's unique position before God.[50] Such intentional positive emphasis on these characters suggests that the authors of the texts aimed at strengthening the status of the Levite family.

On the other hand, by invoking the authority of antiquity, the authors of the new texts also claimed authority for their compositions.[51] These texts contained additional, yet authentic and important information concerning such known and established figures. In particular, references to revelations encountered by the protagonists of the texts was a powerful literary tool to grant the new composition more authority. In the case of the *Visions of Amram*, the author of the text explicitly claims that the composition is a report preserving Amram's authentic experience.

This study has several implications on our understanding for the nature of prophecy during the Second Temple era. Concerning the figure of Levi and the magnetic quality of his priesthood, Michael Stone has proposed that carefully analyzing his "magnetism," i.e., the aura surrounding Levi that allowed his priesthood to incorporate other qualities, will help us to discover those ideals that "were considered central to people's world views."[52] It seems likely that the figure of Levi and his descendants were attributed qualities that were particularly vital and

[49] Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar, "Forms of Pseudepigraphy in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Pseudepigraphie und Verfasserfiktion in frühchristlichen Briefen* (ed. J. Frey, J. Herzer, M. Janßen, and C. Rothschild; WUNT 246; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 85–101.
[50] García-Martínez, "Les rappots avec l'écriture."
[51] Proposed by García-Martínez, "Les rappots avec l'écriture."
[52] Stone, "Ideal Figures and Social Context," 578–79.

appealing for the authors of the texts. This study suggests that there was a strong interest in prophecy, at least in some Jewish circles of the Second Temple era. This interest manifests itself in the form of new literary traditions that document visionary experiences and their transmission processes. These texts claim that the members of the Levite family accessed divine knowledge and passed this knowledge on to the other members of their family.

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Tracing the Early Reception of Traditions

JESSI ORPANA

Awareness of Nudity in *Jubilees* 3

Adam Portrayed as a Priest in the Garden

Introduction

It is only recently that questions related to gender and sexuality have made their way into the study of ancient Jewish texts. When such themes are investigated, the book of *Jubilees* takes a prominent role since gender and sexuality are very noticeable in it. In particular, questions related to laws regarding marriage practices, purity and impurity associated with sexuality and fornication, but also an interest in female characters have been recognized in recent studies of *Jubilees*.[1]

There is a considerable amount of emphasis placed on issues relating to nudity, sexuality, and sexual wrongdoing in *Jubilees*. This is to be expected insofar as *Jubilees* retells much of Genesis,[2] which contains a

[1] Regarding purity, see, e.g., Lutz Doering, "Purity and Impurity in the Book of *Jubilees*," in *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah: The Evidence of Jubilees* (ed. G. Boccaccini and G. Ibba; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2009), 262–64. Regarding women, see, e.g., Betsy Halpern-Amaru, who has analyzed *Jubilees*' descriptions of female characters and their active role in the narrative, arguing, for instance, that *Jubilees* paints a more positive picture of Eve in the Eden narrative than the Genesis account does. Betsy Halpern-Amaru, "The First Woman, Wives, and Mothers in *Jubilees*," *JBL* 113 (1994): 609–26; eadem, *The Empowerment of Women in the Book of Jubilees* (JSJSup 60; Leiden: Brill, 1999).

[2] Most scholars tend to see *Jubilees* as a rewriting of much of Genesis and Exodus. For a discussion on the genre "rewritten Bible," see, e.g., George J. Brooke, "Genre Theory, Rewritten Bible and Pesher," *DSD* 17 (2010): 332–57; Molly M. Zahn, "Genre and Rewritten Scripture: A Reassessment," *JBL* 131 (2012): 271–88. For a detailed discussion on the rela-

number of narratives relevant to these themes, such as the creation narrative, the Eden story, Ham's uncovering of his father's nakedness, the sexual immorality of Sodom, Lot's daughters' act of incest, the rape of Dinah, Esau's marriage to a Canaanite woman, Reuben's intercourse with his father's concubine, Onan's spilling his semen on the ground, Judah's incest with his daughter-in-law, and Potiphar's wife's attempt to seduce Joseph.[3] These stories not only reappear in the narrative in *Jubilees*, but sometimes they are extensively elaborated upon and are frequently used as bases for specific commands and explanations.[4] Thus, there is evidence for a strong interest in *Jubilees* on correct sexual behavior, which is closely related to concerns of purity that was of particular importance for priests to maintain. Based on the current knowledge of the author's motives and the way he reinterprets Genesis, it has been suggested that such concerns are mostly due to the author's priestly emphasis, which is shown for example by the importance of an unbroken priestly lineage.[5]

William Loader has studied the concepts of nudity and sexuality in relation to Eden in the book of *Jubilees*.[6] He has seen a strong connection between nudity, exposed genitalia, and sexual desire, an idea he stresses frequently. In his study, Loader has emphasized the sexual motives of nakedness, but has not considered the sacredness of the garden

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tionship between the first chapters of Genesis and *Jubilees*, see J. T. A. G. M. van Ruiten, *Primaeval History Interpreted: The Rewriting of Genesis 1–11 in the Book of Jubilees* (JSJSup 66; Leiden: Brill, 2000). For the question of the author(s), composition, and literary development of *Jubilees*, see Michael Segal, "The Composition of *Jubilees*," in *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah: The Evidence of Jubilees* (ed. G. Boccaccini and G. Ibba; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2009), 22–35. For discussion on the author and a later interpolator, see James L. Kugel, *A Walk through Jubilees: Studies in the Book of Jubilees and the World of Its Creation* (JSJSup 156; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 1–17.

[3] Cf. William Loader, *Enoch, Levi, and Jubilees on Sexuality: Attitudes towards Sexuality in the Early Enoch Literature, the Aramaic Levi Document, and the Book of Jubilees* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2007), 114.

[4] Those relating to sexuality make up five out of twelve instances where the angel of presence addresses Moses directly during his dictation with the words, "Now, you, command…" See, Loader, *Enoch, Levi, and Jubilees*, 114, 125.

[5] The unbroken priestly line from Adam is, according to Kugel, *A Walk through Jubilees*, 232–34, an idea of the original author of *Jubilees*.

[6] Loader, *Enoch, Levi, and Jubilees,* 236–45, 275–85.

as the primary motif for *Jubilees*' systematic description of the nakedness of Adam and Eve. Thus it should be asked whether all descriptions of nudity in *Jub.* 3 deal with sexual desire or rather more broadly the correct behavior in Eden, which is interpreted as a sanctuary equivalent to the Temple.[7] *Jubilees*' passages dealing with nudity have not been systematically analyzed from the perspective of Eden's holiness prior to this study. In addition, the relationship of the holiness of Eden, Adam's priesthood, and the depiction of nudity in *Jub.* 3 should be analyzed in more detail. Since the purity of the priest is a central concern in *Jubilees*, this priestly emphasis should also be taken into account seriously when analyzing the Eden narrative in *Jub.* 3.

In what follows the three explicit mentions of nudity of the first man and/or woman in *Jubilees* (*Jub*. 3:16, 21–22, 27–31) are thoroughly investigated and these narratives are compared with those found in Gen 2–3. The analysis relies on previous studies, but the novelty is that thus far the awareness of nudity and the emphasis on Adam's priesthood, as such important pieces of the overall picture of the garden narrative in *Jubilees*, have not been analyzed in detail. It will be argued in this study that one's consciousness and awareness of nudity and exposed genitalia are key factors for reading and interpreting the garden narrative of Genesis and *Jubilees*.

Text Analyses: Nudity of the First Man and Woman in Genesis and *Jubilees*

Jubilees 3 is of major importance for the overall theme of sexuality in *Jubilees*, because the first mentions of the nakedness of the first man and woman are in this chapter. *Jubilees* 3 selectively rewrites parts of the Gen 2–3 creation and Eden accounts, thus creating a foundation on which the rest of *Jubilees* builds its interpretation of these themes and

[7] *Jubilees* not only affirms that the garden "is more holy than any land" (*Jub*. 3:12), but it also identifies the garden with the Temple explicitly: "And he [Noah] knew that the Garden of Eden was the holy of holies and the dwelling of the Lord" (*Jub*. 8:19).

attitudes. There are three mentions of the nakedness of the first man and/or first woman in the garden passage: *Jub.* 3:16, 21–22, and 27–31. In the following they are analyzed according to the sequence of *Jubilees*.[8] I have also given the relevant Genesis passages for the sake of clarity.[9]

Nudity without Awareness and Shame

Jub. 3:16 (cf. Gen 2:25)

ወሀሎ፡እንዘ፡ይትቀነይ፡ወውእቱሰ፡ዕራቁ፡ወኢያአምር፡ወኢየኀፍር፡ወየዐቅብ፡ገነተ፡እምአዕዋፍ፡ ወእምአራዊት፡ወእምእንሰሳ፡ወያስተጋብእ፡ፍሬሁ፡ወይበልዕ፡ወያኑበር፡ትራፎ፡ለሙቱ፡ወለብእሲቱ፡ ወያኑበር፡ዘይትዐቀብ።

While he was working (it) *he was naked but did not realize (it) nor was he ashamed*. He would guard the garden against birds, animals, and cattle. He would gather its fruit and eat (it) and would store its surplus for himself and his wife. He would store what was being kept.

Gen 2:25

וַיִּהְיוּ שְׁנֵיהֶם עֲרוּמִּים הָאָדָם וְאִשְׁתּוֹ וְלֹא יִתְבּשָׁשׁוּ

And the man and his wife were both naked, and were not ashamed.

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[8] Among the Qumran manuscripts there are fragments from 14 or 15 copies of *Jubilees* all written in Hebrew. These fragments predate the largest and best preserved *Jubilees* manuscripts, which are in Ge'ez (or classical Ethiopic). Unfortunately the parts of the garden narrative most important for this article have not been preserved in the Hebrew fragments from Qumran and the study has to be based on the translations. This poses a difficulty for exact comparison of word forms used in Genesis and *Jubilees*, but a general sense of the original Hebrew can be reached with a fair amount of confidence. For the editions of the *Jubilees* manuscripts from Qumran in the *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* series, see Jozef Milik, *DJD* 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), 82–83; Maurice Baillet, *DJD* 3 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), 77–78, 96–97; James VanderKam and Jozef Milik, *DJD* 8 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 1–186; Florentino García Martínez, Eibert Tigchelaar, and Adam van der Woude, *DJD* 23 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 207–20.

[9] The English translations of Genesis passages are from NRSV. The Ge'ez is given according to James C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees: Critical Edition* (CSCO 519; Leuven: Peeters, 1989). The English translations of *Jubilees* passages follow VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees: Translation* (CSCO 511; Leuven: Peeters, 1989).

The first passage that refers to the nudity of man and woman in *Jubilees* is remarkably lengthier and more vivid than the one in Genesis. In Genesis, the first encounter of nakedness follows the formation of the woman from Adam's rib immediately: "And the man and his wife were both naked, and were not ashamed" (Gen 2:25). In *Jubilees*, in contrast, nakedness is mentioned for the first time only later when describing Adam working in the garden naked (*Jub*. 3:16), and not in relation to the act of creation itself.

The text of *Jubilees* includes here a quotation of Gen 2:25 with two crucial modifications. First, the author of *Jubilees* omits the phrase "And the man and his wife were both naked" and puts the succeeding verb "to be ashamed" (here in hithpolel meaning "to make oneself ashamed") in the singular form.[10] The author seems to try to avoid the possibility that Adam has seen the genitalia of his wife, and therefore applies the statement of being naked to Adam alone, thus negating the potential for a sexual act between Adam and his wife.[11] It has been stated in earlier studies that Eve is generally presented in a more prominent role in *Jubilees* than in Genesis.[12] Therefore, it is interesting that in *Jub.* 3:16 Adam is the main character and Eve plays a significantly smaller role. The focus is clearly on Adam; even though "his wife" is mentioned, she stays in the background rather than having an active role in the narrative. Adam is the subject of every verb of *Jub.* 3:16: Adam gathers and eats the fruit of the garden, and stores its surplus for him and his wife. While doing so he was naked but not ashamed. *Jubilees* has here an explanatory addition "but did not realize (it)," which is not found in Genesis at this point of the narrative. With this addition, being naked, even in the garden, becomes acceptable, because without awareness of nakedness man did not feel shame nor act inappropriately in a sacred space. The addition refers directly only to Adam's nakedness, but probably also to the nakedness of his wife.

[10] The Ge'ez is probably a rendering from the Hebrew verb בוש.
[11] Loader, *Enoch, Levi, and Jubilees*, 147.
[12] Halpern-Amaru, "The First Woman"; eadem, *The Empowerment of Women*, 13–15.

Adam is here still described and treated similarly to the other species—the difference due to change is emphasized later. This clarifying addition is important because it serves to emphasize that there was no sexual encounter between the man and the woman in the garden. It is impossible to imagine any sexual intercourse without the realization of nakedness and awareness of genitalia. The addition is also essential in order to assure that Adam maintained his purity while in the garden and could therefore act as a priest later in the narrative.

Jubilees 3:16 describes the innocence of Adam and Eve with regard to their nakedness.[13] Even though Eve is not mentioned as being naked in *Jubilees* 3:16, the idea of her nakedness and innocence at this point, can be based on the description of Adam and also on the next passage under investigation (*Jub*. 3:21–22), where the change following the eating of the fruit is described.

Becoming Aware of Nudity

Jub. 3:21–22 (cf. Gen 3:6–7)

3:20 ወርእየት፡ብእሲት፡ዕፀ፡ከመ፡አዳም፡ውእቱ፡ወያሠምር፡ለዐይን፡ወሠናይ፡ፍሬሁ፡ ለበሊይ። ወነሥአት፡እምኔሁ፡ወበልዐት፡ 3:21 ወከደነት፡ኀፍረታ፡በቈጽለ፡በለስ፡ዘቀዳሚ።ወወሀበቶ፡ ለአዳም፡ወበልዐ፡ወተርኅወ፡አዕይንቲሁ፡ወርእየ፡ከመ፡ዕራቁ፡ውእቱ፡ 3:22 ወነሥአ፡ቈጽለ፡በለስ፡ ወጠቀበ፡ወገብረ፡ለሙቱሞራኦ፡ወከደነ፡ኀፍረቶ።

(3:20) The woman saw that the tree was delightful and pleasing to the eye and (that) its fruit was good to eat. So she took some of it and ate (it). (21) *She first covered her shame* with fig leaves and then gave it to Adam. He ate (it), *his eyes were opened, and he saw that he was naked*. (22) He took fig leaves and sewed (them); (thus) he made himself an apron and *covered his shame*.

[13] Cf. J. T. A. G. M. van Ruiten, "Eden and the Temple," 78. Adam saw Eve nude, but did not realize it. *Contra*, van Ruiten, *Primaeval History*, 90. Van Ruiten remarks that *Jubilees* only mentions Adam in this instance because the author wanted to emphasize that Adam did not see the nakedness of his wife. Van Ruiten's interpretation seems to entail that Adam and Eve would not see each other and thus not yet interact with each other at this stage of the narrative. Van Ruiten, *Primaeval History*, 95, also reads the addition that the woman covers herself immediately after eating the fruit and gaining the awareness of her nakedness before Adam enters the scene (*Jub*. 3:21–22) in line with the same principle of emphasizing the innocence of Adam.

Genesis 3:6–7

וַתֵּרֶא הָאִשָּׁה כִּי טוֹב הָעֵץ לְמַאֲכָל וְכִי תַאֲוָה־הוּא לָעֵינַיִם וְנֶחְמָד הָעֵץ לְהַשְׂכִּיל וַתִּקַּח מִפִּרְיוֹ וַתֹּאכַל וַתִּתֵּן גַּם־לְאִישָׁהּ עִמָּהּ וַיֹּאכַל׃וַתִּפָּקַחְנָה עֵינֵי שְׁנֵיהֶם וַיֵּדְעוּ כִּי עֵירֻמִּם הֵם וַיִּתְפְּרוּ עֲלֵה תְאֵנָה וַיַּעֲשׂוּ לָהֶם חֲגֹרֹת׃

> (6) When the woman saw that the tree was good for food, and that it was a delight to the eyes, and that the tree was to be desired to make one wise, she took of its fruit and ate; and she also gave some to her husband, who was with her, and he ate. (7) Then the eyes of both were opened, and they knew that they were naked; and they sewed fig leaves together and made loincloths for themselves.

Both Genesis and *Jubilees* have a narrative describing the first woman and man eating the forbidden fruit and covering their shame after realizing or seeing they were naked (Gen 3:6–7; *Jub*. 3:20–22). The narratives, however, differ in the second part of the passage where the narrative deals with covering the shame. In Genesis the first man and woman realized they were naked and covered themselves at the same time only after Adam too had taken a bite (Gen 3:7). In *Jubilees*, on the contrary, Adam and Eve are both described as covering themselves separately, immediately following the eating of the fruit and gaining the awareness of being naked (*Jub*. 3:21–22).

The addition "she first covered her shame" at the beginning of *Jubilees* 3:21 stresses again the innocence of Adam with regard to the nakedness of his wife. The author of *Jubilees* makes the covering of Adam's shame absolutely clear by explicitly mentioning all the necessary steps: "he took leaves, made the apron, and covered his shame" (*Jub*. 3:22). This is also in line with the tendency of the author of *Jubilees* to fill in gaps in the interpretation of Genesis. In other words, the author of *Jubilees* locks down the right interpretation of Genesis when the base text leaves room for various ways to interpret the passage. But what *Jubilees* does here is more than mere gap-filling; it is a significant rewriting of what are presented as facts in Genesis.

In *Jubilees* 3:21–22, it is stated that after eating from the fruit, the woman first covered her shame before giving the fruit to Adam. *Jubilees* does not include the clarification "who was with her" referring to Adam in Genesis 3:6. This can be seen as the author of *Jubilees*' way of avoiding the suggestion that Adam could have seen the nakedness of his wife

while in the holy garden. His eyes are opened and "he saw that he was naked" (*Jub*. 3:21) only after he had eaten the fruit himself and the woman had already covered herself. In *Jubilees*, the narrative concerning Eve does not here contain the same level of detail as that regarding Adam: the author of *Jubilees* does not state that her eyes were opened. Nevertheless, as noted, in *Jubilees* the woman has covered her shame before she gives the fruit to Adam who is still naked at this point. It would seem logical that the woman would now realize also the nakedness of Adam, even though he does not see it yet. But it is quite evident that *Jubilees* is clearly more concerned with Adam seeing the nudity of his wife than the other way around. However, it is possible that the covering of the woman's nakedness immediately after eating the fruit is also related to the purity of the garden in a more direct manner. The Genesis account states it explicitly that the man and the woman only cover their nakedness after they have both eaten from the fruit. But if the garden is seen as a sanctuary, this would mean that the woman was knowingly naked in the sanctuary while presenting the fruit to the man. Such a notion is rejected in *Jubilees* by making the woman cover her nakedness immediately after eating from the fruit. Thus, neither the man nor the woman were knowingly naked in the sanctuary any longer than it took them to cover themselves. In either case the modifications to the story done in *Jubilees* clearly stem from concerns of purity related to the idea of the garden as a sanctuary.

The author of *Jubilees* uses here the verb ርእየ "to see/observe" (*Jub*. 3:21) instead of ידע "to know" (Gen 3:7) because seeing is more suitable for this context as his eyes have just opened. Moreover, the verb "to know" could be used to describe a sexual encounter between Adam and his wife, which is something the author of *Jubilees* may have wished to avoid.[14] The verb "to see" used in *Jubilees* contains a notion of not just seeing but also experiencing,[15] which means it is close to the connota-

[14] For the verb ידע in the sense of intercourse, see Gen 4:1: Now the man knew his wife Eve, and she conceived and bore Cain, saying, "I have produced a man with the help of the LORD."

[15] For ראה in the sense of experiencing, see, e.g., Pss 60:5: "You have made your people suffer hard things" and 91:16; 106:5; and 4Q381 VII 19.

tion of Genesis without any chance of misinterpreting the sentence as a sexual encounter.

The author's concern that Adam should not see his wife's nudity seems to be connected with the general portrayal of Adam in *Jubilees*. Adam is depicted as a priest and this function asks for slight changes in the narrative in order to insure the purity of Adam. Therefore, the woman seeing Adam's nakedness is not as bad or important to avoid as the other way around since the woman is not a priest in a sanctuary. If the narrative is read in this light, it also relates to the upcoming sacrifice (*Jub*. 3:27).

Adam Acting as Priest

Jub. 3:27; 30–31 (no parallel in Genesis)

3:27 ወበይእቲ፡ዕለት፡እንዘ፡ይወፅእ፡እምገነተ፡ኤዶም፡ዐጠነ፡ለመዓዛ፡ሠናይ፡ዕጣነ፡ስሒነ፡
ወቅንአተ፡ወማየ፡ልብን፡ወሰንበልተ፡በጽባሕ፡ምስለ፡ትንሣኤ፡ፀሐይ፡አመ፡ከደነ፡ኃፍረቶ፡
– –
3:30 ወለአዳም፡ባሕቲቱ፡ወሀቦ፡ይክድን፡ኃፍረቶ፡እምኵሉ፡አራቂት፡ወእንስሳ። 3:31 በእንተዝ፡
ተእዘዘ፡ውስተ፡ጽላት፡ላዕለ፡ኵሎሙ፡እለ፡ያእምሩ፡ፍትሐ፡ሕግ፡ይክድኑ፡ኀፍረቶሙ፡
ወኢይትከሠቱ፡ከመ፡አሕዛብ፡ይትከሠቱ።

3:27 On that day, as he was leaving the garden of Eden, he burned incense as a pleasing fragrance—frankincense, galbanum, stacte, and aromatic spices—in the early morning when the sun rose at the time *when he covered his shame*.
– –
3:30 But of all the animals and cattle *he permitted Adam alone to cover his shame*. 3:31 For this reason it has been commanded in the tablets regarding all those who know the judgment of the law that *they cover their shame and not uncover themselves as the nations uncover themselves*.

Jubilees' last reference to nudity appears in a passage that has no equivalent in Genesis. Thus it can be assumed that this narrative, where the author may not depend on already existing literary tradition, specifies the author's interest with relation to nudity. *Jubilees* takes up the issue of covering one's shame again when all creatures are sent out from the garden of Eden. First, the author of *Jubilees* stresses that Adam alone was to cover his shame and not any of the animals (*Jub*. 3:30). Secondly, *Jubilees* connects the issue with the tablets as touching all those who

know the judgment of the law, that they should cover their shame, and should not uncover themselves as the gentiles do (*Jub*. 3:31–32). These tablets refer to the heavenly tablets, from which an angel of presence by God's command dictated to Moses everything from the beginning of creation until the time when God's temple has been built among his people (*Jub*. 1:27).[16]

The purpose of *Jub.* 3:27–31 is to make some final declarations. Here Adam is clearly acting as a priest when he burns incense at the gate of the garden, but only after he has covered his shame (*Jub*. 3:27).[17] According to Exodus, the burning of incense in front of the Holy of Holies is a privilege given to the priests, namely the sons of Aaron (Exod 30:7–8, 34–37; Num 16:39–40).[18] The covering of nakedness, which is on the one hand related to the view of Eden as the Temple, is here also closely tied to the function of Adam as a priest since the priests are explicitly bidden to cover their nakedness (Exod 20:26; 28:41–42).[19]

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[16] *Jub*. 1:27–29: "Then he said to an angel of presence: 'Dictate to Moses (starting) from the beginning of the creation until the time when my temple is built among them throughout the ages of eternity. The Lord will appear in the sight of all, and all will know that I am the God of Israel, the father of all Jacob's children, and the king of Mt. Zion for the ages of eternity. Then Zion and Jerusalem will become holy.' The angel of the presence, who was going along in front of the Israelites camp, took the tablets (which told) of the divisions of the years from the time the law and the testimony were created—for the weeks of their jubilees, year by year in their full number, and their jubilees from the time of the creation until the time of the new creation when the heavens, the earth, and all their creatures will be renewed like the powers of the sky and like all the creatures of the earth, until the time when the temple of the Lord will be created in Jerusalem on Mt. Zion. All the luminaries will be renewed for (the purpose of) healing, health, and blessing for all the elect ones of Israel and so that it may remain this way from that time throughout all the days of the earth."

[17] Cf. van Ruiten, "Eden and the Temple," 77–79.

[18] Exod 30:7–8: "Aaron shall offer fragrant incense on it; every morning when he dresses the lamps he shall offer it, and when Aaron sets up the lamps in the evening, he shall offer it, a regular incense offering before the LORD throughout your generations." Cf. Exod 34–37 and Num 16:39–40: "So Eleazar the priest took the bronze censers that had been presented by those who were burned; and they were hammered out as a covering for the altar—a reminder to the Israelites that no outsider, who is not of the descendants of Aaron, shall approach to offer incense before the LORD, so as not to become like Korah and his company—just as the LORD had said to him through Moses."

[19] Exod 20:26: "You shall not go up by steps to my altar, so that your nakedness may not be exposed on it." Exod 28:41–42: "You shall put them on your brother Aaron, and on his sons with him, and shall anoint them and ordain them and consecrate them, so that they may serve me as priests. You shall make for them linen undergarments to cover their naked flesh; they shall reach from the hips to the thighs." Van Ruiten, *Primaeval History*, 88, has specu-

In light of these remarks that connect with priestly rulings, it seems rather clear that the author had in mind particularly Adam's priesthood while writing this passage.

Jubilees 3 in its Wider Literary and Social Context

The general scholarly consensus is that *Jubilees* was written in the middle of the second century B.C.E. between 170 and 150.[20] The political and cultural situation in Palestine was such that the Jewish people were dominated by the surrounding Hellenistic culture. This culture might have posed a threat to Jewish identity since Hellenistic culture sometimes contradicted Jewish laws and ancestral traditions. The reinterpretation of Genesis passages where nudity is present are best understood in *Jubilees* within such a historical context: the way these passages are reinterpreted in *Jubilees* may have been meant to warn its audience about certain types of practices and/or behavior that was considered damaging, such as the habit of men being naked in the gymnasium.[21] According to the passage discussed above (*Jub*. 3:30–31) all Jewish peo-

lated that according to the author of *Jubilees* the meaning of Genesis 3:21: "And the Lord God made garments of skins for the man and for his wife, and clothed them" (cf. *Jub*. 3:26) is that God has clothed the man in priestly clothing. The use of כתנות עור (Gen 3:21 "garments of skin") offers the opportunity for this interpretation since among the articles of clothing that priests wear are also the כתנות כהנים (Neh 7:69 "priests' garments"). It is, however, interesting that in Gen 3:21 God is said to make these garments for both the man and the woman.

[20] Sidnie White Crawford, *Rewriting Scripture in Second Temple Times* (SDSSRL; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008), 62. For a general introduction to *Jubilees*, see, for example, Michael Segal, *The Book of Jubilees: Rewritten Bible, Redaction, Ideology and Theology* (JSJSup 117; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 1–41.

[21] This was a Greek institution where young men in the nude trained their bodies, minds, and souls through bodily exercise. See, Richard E. Oster, Jr, "Gymnasium," in *Eerdmans Dictionary of the Bible* (ed. David Noel Freedman; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 534: "Of particular historical significance to Judaism was the introduction of gymnasiums in Judea in the 2nd century B.C.E. The construction of a gymnasium in Jerusalem led to the denial of the holy covenant by many Judean Jews under the reign of Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175–164 B.C.E.; 1 Macc 1:10–15). Jewish participation in the gymnasium was synonymous with the removal of circumcision and assimilation of pagan ways (2 Macc 4:7–17)."

ple were forbidden to appear naked in public from the time Adam and Eve were expelled from the garden.[22]

Apart from the historical background, the author had in mind the apportionment and separation of sacred space and sacred time, which is of fundamental importance in *Jubilees*.[23] Part of understanding appropriate sexual behavior is knowledge of where and when sexual behavior and nakedness are appropriate and when inappropriate. For instance, sexual intercourse was out of place in the garden of Eden. A close reading of the first chapters of *Jubilees* reveals that the first man and woman meet one another before they are brought into the garden, and therefore their initial sexual encounter takes place outside the garden. Furthermore, according to *Jubilees* Adam and Eve have intercourse the following time only after the expulsion from the garden, which is seen as a sanctuary equivalent to the Temple.[24]

Jubilees' Interpretation for Covering Nakedness

Above the three passages of *Jubilees* where the awareness of nudity is emphasized have been analyzed. According to the first account of nudity in Genesis, the first man and woman "were naked, but were not ashamed" (Gen 2:25). The wording seems to have presented a problem for the author of *Jubilees* because it left the passage open for misinter-

[22] It is not significant for my argumentation whether the explicit interpretation of covering one's nakedness in *Jub*. 3:31 is from the original author of *Jubilees* or from the later interpolator as Kugel, *A Walk through Jubilees*, 42–3, 232–35, argues.
[23] Loader, *Enoch, Levi, and Jubilees*, 275–85.
[24] Gary Anderson was the first scholar to explicitly argue that Adam and Eve did not have intercourse inside the garden, but rather did so before entering Eden and then again only after being expelled from it. Gary Anderson, "Celibacy or Consummation in the Garden? Reflections on Early Jewish and Christian Interpretations of the Garden of Eden," *HTR* 82 (1989): 121–48, esp. 129–31. Cf. Loader, *Enoch, Levi, and Jubilees*, 278–79. For Eden as a holy space and a sanctuary, see also Loader, *Enoch, Levi, and Jubilees*, 275–85. For additional insights into the idea of Eden as the Temple in *Jubilees*, see J. T. A. G. M. van Ruiten, "Eden and the Temple: The Rewriting of Genesis 2:4–4:24 in the Book of *Jubilees*," in *Paradise Interpreted: Representations of Biblical Paradise in Judaism and Christianity* (ed. G. P. Luttikhuizen; TBN 2; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 63–94.

pretation that man and woman might have seen each other naked. Therefore, in *Jubilees* the situation is reinterpreted and explained by emphasizing that as the first man and woman were naked in the garden, they did not realize it and that it was as natural to them as to any other species (*Jub*. 3:16). Nakedness and exposure is thus not something to be ashamed of in this setting nor does it constitute sinful behavior, even though at a later time when conscious of nakedness it should be covered (*Jub*. 3:31). The author of *Jubilees* is solving here a problem he had perceived in the Genesis account by reinterpreting his source text(s) and by adding clarifications and missing links, which are in some cases present or at least implied already in the Genesis account. Overall, the author of *Jubilees* seems to strive for a more positive image of Adam in the garden than that which can be gathered from Genesis alone.

The divine instruction concerning the covering of nakedness is even written in the heavenly tablets,[25] as can be seen in *Jub.* 3:30–31. These last verses reveal that the emphasis on the covering of nakedness is not just a consequence of the conception of the garden as a sanctuary. It also implies a protest against contemporary Hellenistic practices as stated above.

Another reason why nudity in the garden presented a problem for the author of *Jubilees* is the notion of Eden as a sanctuary equivalent to the Temple, which is a matter of great importance in *Jubilees*.[26] This is seen first of all in the creation of Adam and his wife, which is explicitly placed outside the garden; they are only later brought into the garden (*Jub*. 3:9) in accordance with the Levitical instructions concerning purification after birth (Lev 12) before being allowed into sacred space (*Jub*.

[25] Cf. *1 En.* 47:3; 81:1; 93:2; 103:2; *T. Levi* 5. In *1 Enoch* and *T. Levi* the idea wavers between absolute determinism and prediction. In *Jubilees* they are at times a record even of contemporary events (14:9; 30:20; 31:32), or a heavenly copy of Levitical laws (3:8, 31; 4:32; 5:13; 6:17; 15:25; 16:29; 24:33; 28:6; 32:15).

[26] For an overview of the Garden motif in early Jewish texts, see Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, "Eden and Paradise: The Garden Motif in Some Early Jewish Texts (*1 Enoch* and Other Texts Found at Qumran)," in *Paradise Interpreted: Representations of Biblical Paradise in Judaism and Christianity*, 37–62.

3:10–13).[27] Secondly, Adam is portrayed in *Jubilees* as the first priest. Unlike in Genesis, Adam is depicted as making a sacrifice before leaving Eden, but only after covering his shame (*Jub*. 3:27).[28] This relates an image of the first man acting as a proper priest immediately after God has distanced himself from humanity following the eating of the fruit, i.e., the sacrificial cult begins instantly after a more direct connection with God has been severed by the actions of humans. These two examples illustrate the view the author of *Jubilees* has of the garden.

Jubilees and the Election of Israel

Even though the focus in *Jub.* 3 seems to be only on Adam and Eve, the way the Genesis Eden tradition is treated and interpreted has a much more far-reaching significance. The author of *Jubilees* interprets the garden as an archetype for the Temple and similarly Adam as a prototypical priest. In doing so, these traditions address the people of Israel as a whole. This is in line with the interpretation that the command to cover one's shame is given exclusively to Israel to keep: "Do not uncover yourselves as nations do" (*Jub*. 3:31). In contrast to Exodus, in *Jubilees* the laws were not first given at Sinai but rather at the time of creation, beginning with the presentation of the Sabbath laws to Israel (*Jub*. 2:24–33). Throughout the book of *Jubilees*, various legal passages, based on the pentateuchal laws, have been juxtaposed to the pre-Sinaitic narratives.[29] The anchoring of lawgiving to the pre-Sinaitic period is an

[27] Halpern-Amaru, "The First Woman"; cf. van Ruiten, "Eden and the Temple," 75–77; idem, *Primaeval History*, 85–89; Segal, *The Book of Jubilees*, 47–58. Also according to Genesis (2:8, 15) Adam and Eve are created outside Eden.

[28] Cf. Loader, *Enoch, Levi, and Jubilees*, 282. In the rewritten story in *Jubilees*, the patriarchs behave like priests: Adam and Enoch offer incense (*Jub*. 3:27, 4:25), and other forefathers (Adam, Noah, Abraham) bring sacrifices. On the first patriarchs, see, Michael Segal, "The First Patriarchs: Law and Narrative in the Garden of Eden Story," in *Rewriting and Interpreting the Hebrew Bible: The Biblical Patriarchs in the Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. D. Dimant and R.G. Kratz; BZAW 439; Berlin: De Guyter, 2013), 77–99.

[29] According to the biblical idea, any covenant with God includes requirements (e.g., Exod 19:5–6). Thus, there was a need for laws from the moment Israel was chosen, i.e., according to *Jubilees* from the creation. The laws are recorded on the heavenly tablets, therefore indicat-

outgrowth of God's election of and covenant with Israel from the creation (*Jub*. 2).[30]

The idea of the narrowing divine election, which is also present in other texts contemporary with *Jubilees*, is closely related to this theme. For instance in Ben Sira, God elected humanity in the creation, but after the Flood, he made a covenant only with Israel. Therefore only Israel is expected to follow the Law.

Conclusions

It has been demonstrated in this article that the way in which the author of *Jubilees* has reinterpreted Genesis passages mentioning the nudity of the first man and/or woman and filled interpretative gaps in these sequences is systematic. Each of the three *Jubilees* passages analyzed in this article is a reinterpretation of the nudity of Adam or Eve in those cases where her actions could possibly jeopardize his image. All three narratives are needed to build up the image of Adam as a prototypical priest.

The first passage mentioning Adam's nakedness (*Jub*. 3:16; cf. Gen 2:25) promotes his innocence in relation to his own nudity and the nakedness of his wife. Here Adam is portrayed as an innocent character similar to other animals, i.e., without awareness of the nudity. Furthermore, Adam does not yet have the knowledge of good and evil and therefore not about the law concerning the correct behavior in Eden/Temple. Thus, he is not expected to cover his nakedness while guarding the garden and gathering its fruit. At this stage of the narrative, Adam is more like other creatures than later after eating the fruit and gaining knowledge and awareness. Still, in *Jubilees* this point is made more explicit than in Genesis by adding "he did not realize it" in the context of Adam being naked. The second passage gives a quite

ing their eternal nature. See, Michael Segal, "Book of *Jubilees*," in *The Eerdmans Dictionary of the Early Judaism* (ed. J.J. Collins and D.C. Harlow; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 844.
[30] Ibid., 844.

detailed description of how Adam and Eve ate the forbidden fruit, became aware of their nudity, and covered their shame. Although the opening of the woman's eyes is not mentioned, the author makes sure that she has covered her shame before encountering Adam.

In the third and final passage, Adam is acting as a priest when he burns incense at the gates of Eden as the first couple is leaving it. The author is again precise about the details and makes it absolutely clear that Adam is dressed before this priestly act by mentioning the covering of his shame yet another time here. In this passage, the divine command to cover one's nakedness is given and explained, and it is said to concern only Israelites. The author of *Jubilees* makes a clear distinction between Israelites and Gentiles but is still concerned with the whole Israel, not with just a select elite group of holy ones (*Jub*. 33:2; 16:15–19, citing Exod 19:6). Thus, sexual wrongdoing defiles not only the person, but also the entire people and the holiness of the Temple. The message of the author of *Jubilees* concerning correct behavior was meant to be heard and recognized by all Israelites and it carried a demand for the nation to conduct itself accordingly or face the consequences of disobedience listed in the first chapter of *Jubilees*.

According to *Jubilees*, purity laws are in practice already in the garden, which is understood as a sanctuary equivalent to the Temple. That is why Adam and Eve are created outside the garden and brought there by angels only after the period of their impurity had ended. After Adam and Eve are both brought into the garden, the author of *Jubilees* begins to describe their activities in the garden. The emphasis on the concept of awareness related to nakedness and the covering of genitalia also plays an important role in the two other examples from *Jubilees* discussed above. We can see a development in the idea of awareness of nakedness and covering it, and the increasing importance of these in the way Genesis is reinterpreted in *Jubilees*. Because the garden is interpreted as a sanctuary equivalent to the Temple and Adam as a model of the priest, not only exposed genitalia but also their possible connection to sexual acts are an area of concern for the author of *Jubilees*.

These three passages focus on the correct behavior in Eden. In addition, the attention is on Adam and his purity in order to insure that he is depicted as a prototypical priest who could perform priestly acts.

Adam is portrayed in *Jubilees* as an innocent being who covered his nakedness as soon as he became aware of it. The picture develops dramatically just as he is leaving the garden and acts as a priest. The reinterpretation and rewriting of the Pentateuch has led to coherence in the way Adam is represented in *Jubilees*: the additions and modifications are all in line with each other. Through the interpretation and rewriting of Genesis in *Jubilees*, the garden becomes a holy place, and Adam becomes a virtuous ancestor who performs priestly functions, which is a tradition that many later texts build upon. The author of *Jubilees* put special emphasis on the continuous priestly line, which has its anchor and beginning already in the first created human being, Adam. He is depicted as a model of virtue harvesting in Eden according to the teaching of angels, covering his genitalia in the sanctuary, and performing a sacrifice at the gates of the garden before being banished from it forever.

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The Proverbs Tradition in the Dead Sea Scrolls*

The purpose of this article is to consider what constitutes the wider Proverbs tradition in the Dead Sea Scrolls.[1] The collection contains three fragmentarily preserved manuscripts of what is now known as the Book of Proverbs (4Q102–103, 103a). It will be argued that two wisdom texts, 4QWiles of the Wicked Woman (4Q184) and 4QBeatitudes (4Q525), belong to the category of the Proverbs tradition as well. The reconsideration is necessary in the light of two recent studies, which have demonstrated the rewriting processes of Proverbs that take place in 4Q184 and 4Q525.[2] In particular, these texts shed light on Proverbs 1–9, the latest stratum of the book's final form.[3]

* Many thanks to Prof. Anneli Aejmelaeus, Dr Mika S. Pajunen, Dr Hanna Tervanotko, and Dr Hanne von Weissenberg for their helpful comments on this article.

[1] The total documentation for the Proverbs tradition in early Jewish literature is even more comprehensive, as is demonstrated by the Greek evidence, particularly the Septuagint translation and the Wisdom of Solomon. However, the focus of this article is on the Hebrew literature known from the Dead Sea Scrolls.

[2] Michael J. Lesley, "Exegetical *Wiles*: 4Q184 as Scriptural Interpretation," in *The Scrolls and Biblical Traditions: Proceedings of the Seventh Meeting of the IOQS in Helsinki* (ed. G. J. Brooke et al.; STDJ 103; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 107–42; Elisa Uusimäki, "Turning Proverbs towards Torah: 4Q525 in the Context of Late Second Temple Wisdom Literature" (Ph.D. diss.; Uni. Helsinki, 2013); eadem, "Use of Scripture in 4QBeatitudes: A Torah-Adjustment to Proverbs 1–9," *DSD* 20 (2013): 71–97.

[3] The unit is sometimes dated to the Persian period because of the socio-historical conditions and intellectual concerns reflected in it, but an early Hellenistic date is also possible; Michael

Remarks on the Classification of the Dead Sea Scrolls

From a modern perspective it may be difficult to grasp the vitality of various kinds of Jewish literature, now known as both canonical and non-canonical, in the Second Temple era. The organization of research often reflects later canonical boundaries that did not exist when the texts were composed, read, interpreted, and rewritten by their first audiences, that is, when they were in active use in ancient Jewish communities. Scholars have become increasingly aware of the need to dissolve these anachronistic canonical barriers.[4]

The reconsideration of these concepts is apparent in the grouping of the Scrolls. Until recent years, it has been typical to divide them into 1) copies of biblical books; 2) sectarian texts; and 3) diverse texts, some of which were previously known as the Apocrypha or the Pseudepigrapha.[5] All of the categories have proven to be problematic, as explained by Eibert Tigchelaar. The categorization presumes a view that the biblical books (apart from Daniel) were produced before the Apocrypha and the Pseudepigrapha. Another assumption is that the first category was accepted by all Jews, the third by some Jews, and the second only by the "Qumran sectarians." Many scholars have shifted into binary categorizations of biblical and parabiblical texts, as well as of sectarian and non-sectarian ones, but even such a classification requires revision.[6] This is due to two reasons: the term "biblical" is clearly anachronistic in the

V. Fox, *Proverbs 1–9: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 18A; New York: Doubleday, 2000), 48–49.

[4] Hindy Najman, "The Vitality of Scripture within and beyond the 'Canon,'" *JSJ* 43 (2012): 497–518.

[5] See, e.g., Devorah Dimant, "The Qumran Manuscripts: Contents and Significance," in *Time to Prepare the Way in the Wilderness: Papers on the Qumran Scrolls by Fellows of the Institute for Advanced Studies of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1989–1990* (ed. D. Dimant and L. H. Schiffman; STDJ 16; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 23–58, esp. 26.

[6] Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, "The Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Eerdmans Dictionary of Early Judaism* (ed. J. J. Collins and D. C. Harlow; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2010), 163–80, esp. 165–66.

pre-canonical context,[7] and the sectarian movement probably consisted of different groups.[8]

The Scrolls include, therefore, documents that later became a part of the canons of the Hebrew Bible or the Old Testament, as well as other works some of which were known before the Qumran discoveries. The Scrolls originate from a period when an array of religious texts, Scripture, was becoming settled, but it was still an *open* body of increasingly authoritative writings; different groups of Jews may have had slightly different notions of it. The openness is particularly true regarding the status of the Writings (*ketuvim*). The specific status of the Mosaic Torah was evident by the second half of the Second Temple era, while that of the Prophets and specifically of the *ketuvim* remains obscure. The ancient texts refer to two parts of scripture, the Torah and the prophets, while there are no certain references to David from the Second Temple period.[9]

This article revolves around scriptural and non-scriptural literature from the viewpoint of one *textual tradition*, that of Proverbs. Proverbs gradually received more authority in the late Second Temple period. Even so, it was not consistently considered to have such,[10] although Proverbs had presumably attained a specific status at least in wisdom circles. Due to the lack of a clearly defined corpus of Scripture, it will be

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[7] See, e.g., George J. Brooke, "New Perspectives on the Bible and Its Interpretation in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Dynamics of Language and Exegesis at Qumran* (ed. D. Dimant and R. G. Kratz; FAT II/35; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 19–37.

[8] See, e.g., Alison Schofield, *From Qumran to the Yaḥad: A New Paradigm of Textual Development for the Community Rule* (STDJ 77; Leiden: Brill, 2009); John J. Collins, *Beyond the Qumran Community: The Sectarian Movement of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2010).

[9] For example, Lester Grabbe, *Judaic Religion in the Second Temple Period: Belief and Practice from the Exile to Yavneh* (London: Routledge, 2000), 153–56, 166, lists the following early Jewish and Christian references that suggest a scriptural body of some sort: Ben Sira's prologue and chapters 44–50; the reference to Nehemiah's library in 2 Macc 2:13–15; the uncertain evidence of 4QMMT (4Q397 14–21 10; 4Q398 14–17 2–3); Philo's main interest in the Pentateuch; Josephus, *Ag. Ap.* 1.8; *4 Ezra* 14:44–46; the Yavnean traditions of rabbinic literature; Luke 24:44; the quote from *1 En.* 1:9 in Jude 14–16; and the views of the canon in early Christian and patristic compositions.

[10] According to Eugene Ulrich, "The Jewish Scriptures: Texts, Versions, Canons," in *The Eerdmans Dictionary of Early Judaism*, 97–119, esp. 114, many of the *ketuvim* "were still finding their place in the first century C.E."

argued that the distinction between scriptural texts and interpretative, non-scriptural texts—the latter include 4Q184 and 4Q525—should be abandoned regarding the Proverbs tradition in the context of early Judaism.

Manuscripts of the Book of Proverbs

The direct evidence for Proverbs is sparse in the Scrolls: three poorly preserved manuscripts were found (4Q102–103, 103a).[11] The manuscripts, dated to the late first century B.C.E. or the early first century C.E., represent only a handful of the thirty-one chapters of the final MT composition: 4Q102 preserves Proverbs 1:27–2:1, 4Q103a preserves Proverbs 9:16–17, and 4Q103 includes two columns with Proverbs 14:31–15:8 and 15:19–31, as well as fragments with Proverbs 10:30–32; 13:6–9; 14:5–10; and 14:12–13.[12]

In terms of content, there are major differences between the Masoretic and the Septuagint versions of Proverbs, but the Hebrew text in 4Q102–103, 103a tends to resemble the former.[13] The text-critical value of the manuscripts is, however, restricted by their fragmentary nature: only six variant readings deviating from the MT can be observed, and they have barely any effect on the content.[14] It should be noted that the Hebrew text displays a stichometric arrangement, that is, it is pre-

[11] For the *editio princeps*, see Eugene Ulrich et al., *DJD* 16, 181–86. See also, idem, *The Biblical Qumran Scrolls: Transcriptions and Textual Variants* (VTSup 134; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 732–34.

[12] In addition, a few words are preserved in 6Q30 or 6QpapProv?, but they do not enable an unambiguous identification; Armin Lange, "Wisdom Literature and Thought in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. T. H. Lim and J. J. Collins; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 455–78, esp. 460.

[13] Eugene Ulrich, "The Bible in the Making: The Scriptures at Qumran," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Bible* (Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1999), 22–33, esp. 27.

[14] See, e.g., Richard J. Clifford, "Observations on the Text and Versions of Proverbs," in *Wisdom, You Are My Sister. Studies in Honor of Roland E. Murphy, O'Carm, on the Occasion of His Eightieth Birthday* (ed. M. L. Barré; CBQMS 29; Washington, D.C.: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1997), 47–61; Lange, "Wisdom Literature and Thought," 460.

sented according to the poetic divisions of line. Such a layout occurs in other "biblical" wisdom compositions from Qumran,[15] but not in the newly discovered wisdom texts, except for the manuscript 5Q16, which contains a parallel to the poem in 4Q525 15 (cf. 5Q16 1–2+5).[16] The arrangement may be explained by the more rigid parallelistic structure of Proverbs and Ben Sira in comparison with the Qumran finds,[17] or it might relate to the text's scriptural status according to the scribe.[18]

Along with the Proverbs manuscripts, and 4Q184 and 4Q525 that reuse Proverbs in a more systematic way (see more below), there are numerous sporadic references to Proverbs in the Scrolls.[19] However, only one explicit quotation from Proverbs 15:8 occurs in the *Damascus Document* (CD 11:18–21) in a context dealing with Sabbath observance: "No man shall send to the altar any burnt-offering, or cereal offering, or incense, or wood, by the hand of one smitten with any uncleanness, permitting him thus to defile the altar. For it is written: 'The sacrifice of the wicked is an abomination, but the prayer of the just is as an agreeable offering' (זבח רשעים תועבה ותפלת צדקם כמנחת רצון)."[20] The appeal to wisdom literature is intriguing since the other scriptural references of the passage (CD 10:14–12:22) concern Leviticus (11:32; 20:27; 23:38) and Deuteronomy (5:12). This case indicates that a wisdom text could be utilized in legal discussion, but it remains a brief

[15] These include two manuscripts of Job (4QJob[a]; 4QpaleoJob[c]), one Hebrew manuscript of Ben Sira from Qumran (2QSir or 2Q18), and another from Masada (MasSir); Emanuel Tov, "The Background of the Stichometric Arrangement of Poetry in the Judean Desert Scrolls," in *Prayer and Poetry in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature. Essays in Honor of Eileen Schuller on the Occasion of Her 65th Birthday* (ed. J. Penner, K. M. Penner and C. Wassen; STDJ 98; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 409–20, esp. 411–12.

[16] This has been demonstrated by Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, "Lady Folly and Her House in Three Qumran Manuscripts: On the Relation between *4Q525* 15, *5Q16*, and *4Q184* 1," *RevQ* 23 (2008): 371–81, esp. 372–73.

[17] Daniel J. Harrington, *Wisdom Texts from Qumran* (London: Routledge, 1996), 16.

[18] Tov, "The Background of the Stichometric Arrangement," 410.

[19] See the preliminary list of references compiled by Armin Lange and Matthias Weigold, *Biblical Quotations and Allusions in Second Temple Jewish Literature* (JAJSup 5; Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), 181–84.

[20] The English translation follows Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls – Study Edition* (2 vols.; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1997–1998), 1:569–71. Note also that the proverb differs slightly from the MT, which reads: זבח רשעים תועבת יהוה ותפלת ישרים רצונו.

glimpse of the late Second Temple employment of Proverbs, while the following discussion focuses on the more comprehensive impact of Proverbs on 4Q184 and 4Q525.

Reinterpreted Proverbs in the Dead Sea Scrolls

In the study of scriptural interpretation in the Scrolls, wisdom literature has not received adequate attention, although the need to examine poetic literature, including 4Q184 and 4Q525, has been recognized.[21] Despite the minor *direct* evidence for the Book of Proverbs, the recent studies on texts that reuse Proverbs 1–9 have revealed the actual scale of the Proverbs tradition in the collection. Remarkably, 4Q184 1 and 4Q525 15 share a distinctive motif, folly and her underworld house. Yet the discussion about their mutual relationship—which cannot be solved on account of the extant evidence—is excluded from this examination. It deals with the significance of 4Q184 and 4Q525 for our conception of the Proverbs tradition in the Scrolls, regardless of their possibly related origins.[22]

[21] See the brief comments of Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, "Forms of Pseudepigraphy in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Pseudepigraphie und Verfasserfiktion in frühchristlichen Briefen* (ed. J. Frey et al.; WUNT 246; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 85–101, esp. 91, 93; idem, "The Dead Sea Scrolls," 169–70, 175.

[22] Based on thematic parallels, Elisha Qimron, "Improving the Editions of the Dead Sea Scrolls," *Meghillot: Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls* 1 (2003): 138–41, esp. 137 (in Hebrew), suggests that 4Q184 and 4Q525 would be two copies of the same composition attributed to Solomon. In a similar vein, Tigchelaar, "Lady Folly," 380, proposes that 4Q184 and 4Q525 are either "two very similar but distinct compositions, or manuscripts of one and the same composition that incidentally do not overlap." See Uusimäki, "Turning Proverbs towards Torah," 254–57.

4QWiles of the Wicked Woman (4Q184)[23]

Manuscript 4Q184 originates from the turn of the era (probably between 30 B.C.E. and 20 C.E.), but the date of composition may be earlier; the content does not assist in determining it.[24] The extant material includes six fragments with one lengthier passage. The poem in fragment 1 concerns a female figure, and shows dependence on the descriptions of the evil women in Proverbs 1–9 (esp. chs. 2; 5; 7; 9).

Proverbs actually refers to two negative females, the foreign or strange woman (אשה זרה; נכריה) and folly (אשת כסילות), but at the turn of the era, they were understood as a single foolish character, as is suggested by the evidence of the Septuagint and 4Q184. The way to cast her seems to become, generally speaking, slightly more abstract and less erotic: while she "embodies attitudes rejected by the Book of Proverbs" and "represents a type of immoral female whom male addressees could encounter in their daily lives but should avoid," she also serves "as a metaphor for abstract ideas and ways of life to be shunned," as analyzed by Matthew Goff. Even so, neither of the texts develops her consistently into an abstract symbol.[25]

The more nuanced identification of 4Q184's protagonist has created variegated interpretations. According to the consensus view, the figure is a symbol of evil. Such a view is natural since she is said to lead people astray and to cause them to sin, described as the beginning of wicked ways, depicted as causing negligence in keeping precepts, and claimed to cause rebellion against God (4Q184 1 2, 8–10, 14–16), to mention but a few negative qualities associated with her. The rest of the

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[23] For the *editio princeps* of 4Q184, see John M. Allegro, *DJD* 5, 82–85; and the comments of John Strugnell, "Notes en marge du volume V des 'Discoveries in the Judean Desert of Jordan,'" *RevQ* 7 (1970): 163–276, esp. 263–68.

[24] See, e.g., John Kampen, *Wisdom Literature* (Eerdmans Commentaries on the Dead Sea Scrolls; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2011), 234–35.

[25] Matthew J. Goff, *Discerning Wisdom: The Sapiential Literature of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (VTSup 116; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 106–11; idem, "Hellish Females: The Strange Woman of Septuagint Proverbs and *4QWiles of the Wicked Woman* (4Q184)," *JSJ* 39 (2008): 20–45, esp. 22, 44. As for the Septuagint, the translation style is relatively free, but the level of abstraction should not be overemphasized; Fox, *Proverbs 1–9*, 376 (see also pp. 254–55).

interpretation has been less unanimous: she was first associated with historical events and even with the sectarian movement, while recent research has focused on literary questions.[26]

A convincing explanation is to interpret the woman of 4Q184 as related to the power of evil spirits in the world. This possibility was first mentioned by Joseph Baumgarten,[27] but it has been recently developed by Michael Lesley. Lesley takes the discussion further by demonstrating the ideological inducement of the use of Proverbs in 4Q184. He observes the intertwining and reconciliation of two ideologically divergent scriptural passages, Proverbs 1–9 (esp. chs. 3; 5; 7) and Isaiah 59 (esp. vv. 3, 7, 9–12), in the text. The image of the evil woman has been reinterpreted, and sources harmonized, in order to answer the question of why righteous people sin.[28]

Two major ways of rewriting take place in 4Q184 1. First, there are statements that directly draw on the passages that concern the evil women (cf. 4Q184 1 1–4 and Prov 5:3ff.; 4Q184 1 4–8 and Prov 7:6–27). Second, 4Q184 inverts a statement that originally dealt with the opposite, wisdom, which results in depicting the woman folly as an evil mirror image of wisdom (cf. 4Q184 1 8–11 and Prov 3:17–18). Towards the end of the poem, folly is said to lead humankind astray, including righteous, perfect, and upright people (4Q184 1 11–17). The claim that folly appears even more powerful than wisdom—in that she is capable of harming righteous people—is in contradiction with the positive ethos of the source, Proverbs 1–9.[29] It departs from the idea that the exercise of human mind is adequate for leading into right behavior, that is, "fear of Yahweh and trust in him are sufficient to motivate the search for wisdom and the avoidance of sin."[30]

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[26] For a list of the numerous studies on 4Q184, see, e.g., Goff, *Discerning Wisdom*, 104–5.
[27] Joseph M. Baumgarten, "On the Nature of the Seductress in 4Q184," *RevQ* 15 (1991): 133–43, esp. 142–43. Baumgarten's argument has been favored by Sidnie White Crawford, "Lady Wisdom and Dame Folly at Qumran," *DSD* 6 (1998): 355–66, esp. 360–62.
[28] Lesley, "Exegetical *Wiles*," 107–42.
[29] Lesley, "Exegetical *Wiles*," 113–20.
[30] Michael V. Fox, "Ethics and Wisdom in the Book of Proverbs," *HS* 48 (2007): 75–88, esp. 75, 88.

According to Lesley, the verbal and thematic similarities between Proverbs 1–9 and Isaiah 59 suggest that the author of 4Q184 read these two passages together. At least two scriptural traditions merge in 4Q184: folly's portrait and the description of the wicked are based on Proverbs, but they draw simultaneously on Isaiah. The combination of sources is rather surprising, because Isaiah 59 (esp. vv. 2–8) considers sin to be unavoidable.[31] Although Isaiah 59 offers the possibility of repentance (vv. 9–15a) and eventual divine help and salvation (vv. 15b–21), Lesley is correct in that Isaiah 59 contradicts the positive attitude of Proverbs, which promotes the pursuit and attainment of a wise life, and attests to a strong belief in the human capability to do what is right and good (e.g., Prov 1:2–6; 2:1–22; 4:1–27). At the same time, this very combination of material reveals the interpretative intention of the author.[32]

The textual connections to Isaiah 59 have a radical effect on 4Q184 insofar as they change folly's nature in comparison with her portrayal in Proverbs. They permit a transformation of the character(s) in Proverbs into an evil twin of the supernatural wisdom. The evidence remains circumstantial, but the writer of 4Q184 seems to have depicted the evil woman of Proverbs as a sort of "demonic" being in order to reconcile the tension between the views of Proverbs and Isaiah, positive and pessimistic respectively. Folly's demonic character is supported by three major features in her portrayal: her dwelling-place includes eternal fire, her clothing may be immaterial, and she is said to cause the righteous to sin (4Q184 1). The reinterpretation allows the recognition of both the power of evil forces in the current world order, embodied in folly's character, and their cessation and wisdom's eventual reign in the end-times.[33] Although the woman of 4Q184 may not be represent a fully-developed, supernatural demon, her portrayal with certain demonic elements reflects the author's spiritual beliefs and concerns that are related to the power of evil spirits on human behavior.

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[31] Lesley, "Exegetical *Wiles*," 110–12.
[32] Lesley, "Exegetical *Wiles*," 110–12.
[33] Lesley, "Exegetical *Wiles*," 110–12, 117, 122–32.

4QBeatitudes (4Q525)[34]

Manuscript 4Q525 consists of fifty fragments with a handful of lengthier passages. The preserved copy originates from the turn of the era (between 50 B.C.E. and 50 C.E.), while the date of composition may be settled in the mid-second century B.C.E.[35] The work is famous for the list of five macarisms or beatitudes (אשרי statements), found in fragment 2ii, and the majority of research has focused on this series. Yet the contribution of 4Q525 to our understanding of early Jewish wisdom literature is much more variegated. For example, the text attests to scriptural interpretation that takes place in wisdom poetry, reflects the mixture of wisdom, Torah piety, and revelatory ideas, and conveys information about the social and spiritual functions of wisdom teaching.[36]

The significance of 4Q525 for recognizing the extent of the Proverbs tradition is prominent. On a general level, the impact of Proverbs and Psalms on the text has been briefly noted by a few scholars from early on.[37] Moreover, I have recently demonstrated the profound impact of Proverbs on 4Q525 and associated it with rewriting processes.[38] The majority of scriptural influence originates from Proverbs: there is one verbatim quotation from, and several allusions to, the text (esp. frgs. 1; 2ii; 24ii). All of them concern chapters 1–9 of the source.

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[34] For the *editio princeps* of 4Q525, see Émile Puech, *DJD* 25, 115–78. An updated Hebrew text, which acknowledges some changes based on the observations of Elisha Qimron, "Improving the Editions," and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, "Lady Folly," can be found in Uusimäki, "Turning Proverbs towards Torah," 41–55.

[35] See my lengthy discussion of the text's origin in "Turning Proverbs towards Torah," 178–92.

[36] Uusimäki, "Turning Proverbs towards Torah."

[37] See, e.g., Émile Puech, "The Collection of Beatitudes in Hebrew and in Greek (4Q525, 1–4 and Matt 5, 3–12)," in *Early Christianity in Context: Monuments and Documents. Essays in Honour of Emmanuel Testa* (ed. F. Manns and E. Alliata; SBFCM 38; Jerusalem: Franciscan, 1993), 353–68, esp. 355–56; idem, *DJD* 25, 115; James H. Charlesworth, "The Qumran Beatitudes (4Q525) and the New Testament (Mt 5:3–11; Lk 6:20–26)," *RHPR* 80 (2000): 13–35, esp. 22.

[38] Uusimäki, "Turning Proverbs towards Torah," 87–92; eadem, "Use of Scripture," esp. 83–86. Similar ideas seem to have been anticipated by Tigchelaar, "Forms of Pseudepigraphy," 91, 93; idem, "The Dead Sea Scrolls," 169–70, 175.

The prominence of Proverbs 1–9 suggests that this unit provided the principal source for 4Q525, and that the new text was meant to be read in the light of Proverbs. The author was interested in the poems and instructions of this section instead of the collections of proverbs (chs. 10–30). The Proverbs references provided a basis for the composition both thematically and structurally. The connection is evident already in the introductory lines. The second line of fragment 1 imitates, and nearly quotes from, the prologue to Proverbs: it realizes the writing's aim to lead the reader into wisdom, instruction, and understanding (cf. Prov 1:2). The strong allusion expresses the purpose and intention of 4Q525.[39]

The other allusions to Proverbs 1–9 concern, for the most part, the character and concept of wisdom. She is often referred to with the feminine suffix ה, which is probably used of both wisdom and Torah due to their explicit identification (4Q525 2ii 3–4; cf. 4Q185 1–2ii 8–15). Two or three allusions appear in the series of five macarisms (4Q525 2ii) on the search for wisdom. The references pertain to holding her (cf. 4Q525 2ii 1–2 and Prov 3:18), attaining her (cf. 4Q525 2ii 3 and Prov 3:13), and possibly to the ways of folly (cf. 4Q525 2ii 2 and Prov 7:25). The next poem on a devout life describes the endurance of a wise person and alludes to Proverbs (cf. 4Q525 2ii 5–6 and Prov 1:26–27). Another allusion in fragment 2iii concerns wisdom's value over and above earthly riches (cf. 4Q525 2iii 1–3 and Prov 3:14–15).[40] Later in the manuscript, the advice on speech depends on the parent's teaching in Proverbs (cf. 4Q525 14ii 27 and Prov 6:2).[41]

The only literal quotation appears in fragment 15. The clause "they shall not attain the paths of life" (לוא ישיגו אורחות חיים) in 15 8 cites Proverbs 2:19 which portrays the destiny of those who choose the

[39] The similarity to Proverbs 1 was noted by Puech, *DJD* 25, 121. See also, Uusimäki, "Turning Proverbs towards Torah," 72; eadem, "Use of Scripture," 76.

[40] Puech's reading of frg. 2iii in *DJD* 25, 129 has been slightly corrected by Qimron, "Improving the Editions," 137–38. Note that some of the references were observed by Puech, *DJD* 25, 124, 130. See also, Uusimäki, "Turning Proverbs towards Torah," 73–75; eadem, "Use of Scripture," 76–78.

[41] The use of two same verbs was noted by Puech, *DJD* 25, 151. See also, Uusimäki, "Turning Proverbs towards Torah," 75–76; eadem, "Use of Scripture," 78.

strange woman.[42] The immediate context is lost, but the quotation reveals the poem's theme and serves as a key for unlocking its meaning: the fiery and dark underworld filled with serpents is the house of wisdom's negative counterpart.[43] Finally, the motif of folly's house forms an antithesis to the motif in fragment 24ii. Its instruction on wisdom's house is constructed on Proverbs 9:1a: "wisdom has built her house (ביתה)," which begins a passage on her banquet. The direct use of the source is confirmed by the allusion to Proverbs 9:5, which is evident after the arrangement of fragments 24ii and 35 next to each other.[44]

The number of extant references to Proverbs 1–9 suggests that this section has the highest place in the hierarchy of 4Q525's sources. I have argued that the techniques of reusing Proverbs remind one of rewriting processes, when rewriting is understood broadly as a literary process rather than a strictly defined literary genre.[45] Recently, George Brooke has suggested that the category of rewriting "should include all texts that are concerned directly with the transmission of authoritative tradition," emphasizing that scriptural texts and works interpreting them should not automatically be separated from one another.[46] Due to its

[42] The parallel was noted by Puech, *DJD* 25, 153, but its crucial significance for the understanding of the passage realized by Qimron, "Improving the Editions," 138–39. See also, Tigchelaar, "Lady Folly," 377; Uusimäki, "Turning Proverbs towards Torah," 76; eadem, "Use of Scripture," 79.

[43] The house motif of Proverbs is used as a "springboard" when creating a new poem. This reminds one of the aspects of innovation and inspiration that have been associated with "parabiblical" texts by Sidnie White Crawford, *Rewriting Scripture in Second Temple Times* (SDDSRL; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2008), 14.

[44] It is likely that frgs. 24 ii and 35 belong next to each other, lines 35 2–3 on the left side of 24ii 3–4. Line 35 2 reads "I mixed" (מסכתי). The verb's occurrence in Prov 9:5 (for other references, see Ps 102:10; Prov 9:2, 5; Isa 5:22; 19:14) was noted by Puech, *DJD* 25, 172, but the connection between the fragments demonstrated by Qimron, "Improving the Editions," 140–41. See also, Uusimäki, "Turning Proverbs towards Torah," 77–78; eadem, "Use of Scripture," 79–80.

[45] Uusimäki, "Turning Proverbs towards Torah," 87–92.

[46] George J. Brooke, "Genre Theory, Rewritten Bible and Pesher," *DSD* 17 (2010): 332–57, esp. 340–41.

close engagement with Proverbs 1–9, 4Q525 can be regarded as a rewriting of Proverbs in the light of such a criterion.[47]

In spite of the dominant influence, Proverbs 1–9 was not the only text utilized in the composition of 4Q525. The examination of other sources goes beyond the scope of this article, but their existence must be acknowledged. The most dominant ancillary sources include Psalms and Deuteronomy. Their impact makes the content of 4Q525 more particular in comparison with Proverbs, since they provide a Torah-adjustment to its wisdom instruction and indicate that the primary source is rewritten in the light of a late Second Temple worldview and beliefs. This process of scriptural renewal and reinterpretation is undertaken to enable the source text to be relevant for that audience, that is, to demonstrate that the wisdom of Proverbs is actually about the Torah.[48]

Implications of 4Q184 and 4Q525 for the Study of Proverbs

4Q184 and 4Q525 contribute to the study of Proverbs as they attest to the total documentation of the Proverbs tradition in the Scrolls, and illuminate the status and role of Proverbs 1–9 in late Second Temple teaching. They are also significant with respect to the process of rewriting.

The general impact of scripture on works from the turn of the era cannot be exaggerated.[49] The analysis of 4Q184 and 4Q525 demonstrates that these texts were also written to appropriate earlier literature,

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[47] More detailed features associated with rewriting can also be identified in 4Q525. Particularly notable is the way in which the references to Prov 1 and Prov 9 frame the work; see Uusimäki, "Turning Proverbs towards Torah," 89–90.

[48] Uusimäki, "Turning Proverbs towards Torah," 97–143; eadem, "Use of Scripture," 71–97.

[49] See, e.g., Michael Fishbane, "Use, Authority, and Interpretation of Mikra at Qumran," in *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity* (ed. M. J. Mulder; Assen-Maastricht: Van Gorcum; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988), 339–77, esp. 356.

that is, to make the literary heritage—and especially Proverbs—relevant in the new context. Since 4Q184 and 4Q525 reflect interpretative methods known mainly from non-wisdom contexts thus far, they urge scholars to consider what kinds of forms the rewriting process of earlier texts and traditions takes in wisdom literature.[50] Exegetical similarities between texts of different genres ask for a broad definition of rewriting, which will allow scholars to understand the extent of scriptural interpretation.[51] It should yet be emphasized that the focus here is on rewriting as a *process* rather than a strictly defined genre; 4Q184 and 4Q525 use Proverbs as their base text, but the source remains a starting point which is developed into something new. The concept refers, therefore, to the re-presentation of the Proverbs tradition with emerging authority.[52]

Second, the reuse of Proverbs in 4Q184 and 4Q525 demonstrates the total documentation of the Proverbs tradition in the Scrolls. The tradition is attested more extensively than one might reckon based on 4Q102–103, 103a. These "biblical" manuscripts form only some representatives of the tradition, while the compositions that rewrite the source demonstrate its tangible extent. There is no reason to make a radical distinction between scriptural and non-scriptural, interpretative texts, since labels such as rewritten, parabiblical, and biblical are simply anachronistic for the late Second Temple era.[53] Like the "biblical" copies of Proverbs (4Q102–103, 103a), 4Q184 and 4Q525 could have been regarded as a part of the same collection of the *ketuvim*. They witness and constitute the Proverbs tradition in the pre-canonical era,

[50] It has been noted that the multiple forms of rewriting in late Second Temple literature can be set on a sliding scale, a spectrum, or a continuum of scriptural reworking; see, e.g., Molly M. Zahn, "Genre and Rewritten Scripture: A Reassessment," *JBL* 131 (2012): 271–88. Even those scholars who prefer a strictly defined class of rewritten texts have included legal literature in the category; see, e.g., Moshe J. Bernstein, "'Rewritten Bible': A Generic Category which has Outlived Its Usefulness?" *Textus* 22 (2005): 169–96. The same has not yet been done with poetic writings.

[51] See esp. Brooke, "Genre Theory," 341. Similarly Anders Klostergaard Petersen, "The Riverrun of Rewriting Scripture: From Textual Cannibalism to Scriptural Completion," *JSJ* 43 (2012): 475–96, esp. 485–86.

[52] Cf. Uusimäki, "Use of Scripture," 86.

[53] Brooke, "New Perspectives," 27; idem, "Genre Theory," 332–42.

when the status of the *ketuvim* was only being established.[54] Scripture continued to be formed, and these compositions added a new approach to the source text. The writers wanted to show the relevance of Proverbs 1–9 to a contemporary audience,[55] perhaps in order to say *why* it should be regarded as authoritative.[56] Such a focus is natural in that Proverbs 1–9 involves—contrary to chapters 10–31—a developed theological viewpoint; it might be more challenging to reinterpret the collections of sayings.

Third, 4Q184 and 4Q525 reinforce the significance of the source along with their interpretative aims. The rewriting of Proverbs 1–9 suggests that this unit had achieved a form, reputation, and distribution that were stable enough for reinterpretation and elaboration. The use of Proverbs may have been beneficial in terms of claiming legitimacy for 4Q184 and 4Q525, but the new texts probably both received authority from, and lent it to, the source.[57] Moreover, the reinterpretation of Proverbs 1–9 contributed to the overall authorization of the Book of Proverbs. The status of a book was often promoted by secondary additions that enhanced its pious character. As for Proverbs, the theological material of chapters 1–9 may have helped it to achieve a scriptural status.[58] The focus of 4Q184 and 4Q525 on Proverbs 1–9 "doubles the

[54] To some extent, even the form of Proverbs was still in a state of flux, as is demonstrated by the growth of the text in the Septuagint; see Fox, *Proverbs 1–9*, 323–30.
[55] So, Brooke, "Genre Theory," 349: "The relevance of the text is to be found in the representation."
[56] This pertains to the interpretative character of 4Q184 and 4Q525. Tigchelaar, "The Dead Sea Scrolls," 170, briefly notes that it is unclear whether the question is about scriptural interpretation or merely imitation of a scriptural example. Based on Lesley's analysis, "Exegetical *Wiles*," 107–42, the writer of 4Q184 had an interpretative aim in his mind. Similarly, it is justified to name 4Q525 as interpretation since Proverbs is re-read through "Torah-lenses" and accompanied by eschatological beliefs; Uusimäki, "Use of Scripture," 71–97.
[57] Cf. the reflections of George J. Brooke, "Between Authority and Canon: The Significance of Reworking the Bible for Understanding the Canonical Process," in *Reworking the Bible: Apocryphal and Related Texts at Qumran. Proceedings of a Joint Symposium by the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature and the Hebrew University Institute for Advanced Studies Research Group on Qumran, 15–17 January, 2002* (ed. E. G. Chazon, D. Dimant, and R. A. Clements; STDJ 58; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 85–104, esp. 96–97, 103.
[58] Ulrich, "The Jewish Scriptures," 100–1.

effect": the texts attest to the reinterpretation of a sub-unit, which was meant to endorse the authority of the whole book.

Fourth, 4Q184 and 4Q525 help scholars understand the role and use of Proverbs in early Judaism. The extent of reusing Proverbs is unknown in the case of 4Q184, since only one larger fragment is preserved, but 4Q525 imitates the source to a significant extent. Since Proverbs 1–9 serves as an extended introduction to the whole book,[59] 4Q525 as its rewriting could even have been regarded as an alternative introduction and approach to it. On the other hand, the interest in chapters 1–9 might simultaneously suggest that these chapters were circulating independently in the context of education. The introductory unit was perhaps used as a "study tool" of some sort, which would be natural in the light of its reflective content.[60]

Conclusions

The analysis of 4Q184 and 4Q525 reveals their primary significance for the study of the Proverbs tradition in the Scrolls. The extent of the tradition does not limit itself to the manuscripts of the Book of Proverbs (4Q102–103, 103a). In the pre-canonical period, 4Q184 and 4Q525 that rewrite Proverbs should also be included in the category of the Proverbs tradition. These texts constituted the same tradition of emerging authority, while adding something new to an existing text and tradition. Both enhanced the gradually increasing authority of Proverbs, which was regarded as worth transmitting to the late Second Temple audience. The exclusive focus on chapters 1–9 of the source also suggests that this unit may have been circulating as a study tool of some kind.

[59] See, e.g., Fox, *Proverbs 1–9*, 48.

[60] This interpretation is favored by Egyptian instructions, parallel to Proverbs 1–9, which were used as textbooks; R. Norman Whybray, *The Intellectual Tradition in the Old Testament* (BZAW 135; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1974), 58.

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